

AN APOLOGY, &C.

April, 1642

PREFACE AND NOTES BY FREDERICK LOVETT TAFT

Milton's fifth and final antiprelatical pamphlet was titled *An Apology against a Pamphlet Call'd A Modest Confutation of the Animadversions upon the Remonstrant against Smectymnuus, etc.* Such a long, cumbersome title could not be used for a running head at the top of each page, so the printer used the shortened form *An Apology, &c.* When in 1654 the unsold copies of the original edition were reissued with the unsold copies of *The Reason of Church-Government*, the new title page called the work *An Apology for Smectymnuus*, a title frequently used ever since in lieu of the original unwieldy one.

From allusions to various events in *An Apology* Masson surmised that it might have appeared before March 25, 1642, despite the date 1642 on its title page.¹ One allusion Masson did not point out seems to date the work after the first week in April. Milton speaks of "miraculous and losseless victories" against the Irish rebels, but not until Parliament's petition to the king on April 8 is there any indication among the official records that the Irish rebellion, which had begun in October, 1641, was anything but successful. Indeed the petition of April 8 presented arguments against the king's going to Ireland to quell the rebellion, and his reply indicates surprise at Parliament's word of success against the rebels.² Thus it is probable that *An Apology* appeared some time after the first week of April, 1642.

As his title indicates, Milton was answering an attacker in his fifth prose work, the nature of the attack being indicated by the full title of the forty-page pamphlet: *A Modest Confutation of a Slanderous and*

¹ Masson, II, 398, and n. 1.

² See note below on "needfull aids," p 927. Milford C. Jochums in his "John Milton's *An Apology*," *Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, XXV, Nos 1-2 (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1950), 2-3, agrees with this dating, on the basis of the evidence proposed in the present writer's unpublished doctoral dissertation at Western Reserve University, *Milton and the Smectymnuus Controversy, 1641-1642* (1942). See French, *Life Records*, II, 54-55, 58-59.

*Scurrilous Libell, Entituled, Animadversions etc.*³ The authorship and exact date of publication of this attack remain problematical. It is evident that Milton himself was uncertain just who the "Confutant" was, for *An Apology* often is addressed to the Remonstrant, i.e., Joseph Hall, Bishop of Norwich, and equally often to a young man, "thou lozel Bachelor of Art," and "unmatriculated Confutant." Once Milton asserts the *Modest Confutation* is the work of "as I am told, Father and Son," that is, Hall and one of his sons.⁴ Just who wrote the *Modest Confutation* will probably never be determined, and is, after all, relatively unimportant. Dating the pamphlet accurately, however, would help establish the chronology of Milton's early prose writings.

Thomason did not date his copy of the *Modest Confutation*, and it was not registered. The date on the title page, 1642, suggests publication after March 25, 1642, although postdating of pamphlets published before the official beginning of the year was not uncommon. Internal evidence strongly suggests composition before the acceptance by the Lords of the Bishops' Exclusion Bill on February 5, and probably publication before that event.⁵ Such a date as January for the *Modest Confutation* offers the intriguing possibility that this attack on Milton's *Animadversions* of the previous summer is also closely linked with Milton's fourth prose work, *The Reason of Church-Government*. The possibility rests in turn on the date of the last work, which Masson, noting its mention of the imprisonment of the bishops (December 30, 1641) guessed as "January or February, 1642."⁶ He did not notice the mention of that event and the yet unpassed Bishops' Exclusion Bill at another point, evidence seemingly sufficient for one to surmise that Milton finished writing *The*

³ Reproduced in facsimile in William R. Parker's *Milton's Contemporary Reputation* (1940). The title concludes, after a Greek quotation: "Printed in the year M. DC. XLII."

⁴ For an example of Milton's addressing the Confutant as Hall, see the note on "frivolous, tedious, and false," below, p. 876; see also the note on the words quoted here, below, p. 897. Masson (II, 393-398) says the Confutant was Robert Hall, two years ahead of Milton at Cambridge. Parker, pp. 266-269, questions Masson's identification. Jochums, p. 3, argues for another son, Edward Hall. Milton's charge that the authorship was by a "Father and Son" occurs at the beginning of Section I, below, p. 897.

⁵ On the basis of an allusion in the *Modest Confutation*, Masson, II, 353, 398, dated the writing before February 14, when Charles accepted the Bill; but he failed to point out a still clearer allusion on the last page (p. 40). Parker (p. 266), ignores Masson's dating and concludes "in 1642, probably after March 25," on the evidence of the title page. The *Smectymnuan Answer to an Humble Remonstrance*, though registered March 20, 1640 (i.e., 1641), was dated 1641.

⁶ II, 361, n. 3.

Reason of Church-Government during January, 1642.⁷ Thus the *Modest Confutation* may actually have appeared while Milton was completing *The Reason of Church-Government*. Confirmation of the above theory seems to be contained in the following passage from the justly famous autobiographical statement in the Preface to Book II of *The Reason of Church-Government*:

Which might teach these times not suddenly to condemn all things that are sharply spoken, or vehemently written, as proceeding out of stomach, virulence and ill nature, but to consider rather that if the Prelats have leav to say the worst that can be said, and doe the worst that can be don, while they strive to keep themselves to their great pleasure and commodity those things which they ought to render up, no man can be justly offended with him that shall endeavour to impart and bestow without any gain to himselfe those sharp, but saving words which would be a terror, and a torment in him to keep back⁸

The Reason of Church-Government itself was too philosophical, too lofty for more than such a veiled allusion to the taunts of the *Modest Confutation*. Besides, Milton had signed his name to the former as he had not to the *Animadversions*, which the Confutant attacked and which was so different in tone and content from *The Reason of Church-Government*. The *Modest Confutation* therefore required a separate reply, one calculated to demolish the attack on its own terms of vituperation and personalities.

Beginning with the 1698 edition, editors of Milton's prose have regularly included *An Apology*. Thus it appears without annotation in the 1698 "Amsterdam" edition to which Toland's life is prefixed; in the 1738 edition of Thomas Birch; in Mitford's edition (1851); and of course in the Columbia Edition. The last is the most accurate textually. The Bohn Edition of the prose (1848) has occasional notes by J. A. St. John. More recently Frank Allen Patterson annotated it as a part of *The Student's Milton* (1934), as did E. H. Visiak in *Milton Complete Poetry and Selected Prose*. Excerpts of *An Apology* with notes appear in Merritt Y. Hughes' *John Milton Prose Selections* (1947) and in John S. Diekhoff's *Milton on Himself* (1939). Finally, Milford C. Jochums recently published *John Milton's "An Apology"* (Urbana, University of Illinois, 1950) in an elaborate "Critical Edition." In its unpublished form as a doctoral dissertation at Illinois (1948), this last edition was available to the present editor for a brief time for perusal, but the present notes were compiled before the published edition appeared early in 1951. The present editor, however, has made use of all these annota-

⁷ The passage, too long to quote here, is near the end of "The Conclusion," above pp. 860-61.

⁸ Above, pp. 803-04.

tions, including those of Jochums, and acknowledges specific indebtednesses to them at appropriate places in the ensuing notes, although he made no attempt to make the notes merely a compilation of those of his preceding editors or to point out differences between his own comments and those of other editors.

The present text is derived from the editor's own copy of the original edition of 1642. It is referred to in the Textual Guide (below, p. 1041) as Copy A. Collation: 4^o, π² A-G⁴, H² [\$2 (-H) signed], 32 leaves, pp. [3] 1-58 [1]. Contents: π1: blank. π2: title page (verso blank). A1-H2: Text.⁹ No other edition appeared during Milton's lifetime, although the unsold copies of the original edition were reissued in 1654 along with those of *The Reason of Church-Government* under a new title page, as pointed out by William R. Parker.¹⁰ Hence both issues may be considered in preparing a text. The present text has been compared with the following: "B," a photostat of the original edition in the Union Theological Seminary (tM65a); "C," a microfilm of the original edition in the Folger Library, on the title page of which appears an early inked number, "921"; "D," a microfilm of the original edition in the Huntington Library (105,678); "E," a microfilm of the original edition in the Newberry Library, numbered (p. 1) D 25985A; "F," a microfilm of the 1654 reissue in the John Carter Brown Library; "G," a microfilm of the copy of the original edition in the Yale University Library with p. 59 unnumbered; "H," a microfilm of another copy of the original edition in the Yale University Library, formerly in the possession of John F. Fulton of the Yale University School of Medicine Historical Library, with p. 59 numbered; "I," a microfilm of the original edition in the Houghton Library *EC65/M6427/642a. Comparison has also been made with the text of the Columbia Edition (based on two original editions, one at Columbia and one at Yale) and with Milford C. Jochums' facsimile text, reproduced from several copies at the University of Illinois. The last has notes of the variants found by an examination of five copies of the original edition, one copy of the reissue of 1654, a photostat of another copy of the original edition, and films of eleven other copies of the original edition. Three of the copies listed above (copies B, C, and E) were not used by Jochums, nor was the present editor's own copy. The variants found are insignificant changes in spelling and

⁹ The device of the sun in glory (McKerrow, *Devices* [1913], No. 395, p. 149) used on the title page was, as the page shows, the sign of John Rothwell's stall in St. Paul's churchyard. It had been used previously by John Partridge (Plomer, *A Dictionary* [1907], pp. 144-145).

¹⁰ See "Milton, Rothwell, and Simmons," *The Library*, XVIII (June, 1937), 89-103, and also *Milton's Contemporary Reputation*, pp. 16 and 265.

punctuation, mainly perhaps the result of poor presswork and the dropping out of occasional pieces of type.

An Apology, as has been suggested already, adopted the tone of the *Modest Confutation* and thus displays a side of Milton not shown in the poetry. What is revealed, however, is not always pleasant: sharp sarcasm, bitter wrangling, unreasoning and even indecent vituperation, pettiness—all these aspects of Milton are made clear. Although autobiographical passages are also to be found in *The Reason of Church-Government* and the *Second Defence*, the statements in *An Apology* appear most revealing of Milton's personality. From the time of Toland's *Life* in 1698, biographers have acknowledged this fact by extensive use of the personal statements Milton included in his attack. Some, to be sure, have found it hard, even while admiring the loftiness and fluency of the autobiographical passages, to accept the less flattering portions: Milton's dealing in personalities, his anger, his plain bad manners.¹¹ Nevertheless all scholars may be thankful for the anonymous Confuter's attack, for without it Milton's biography would be less complete and his writings would lack what is probably his most personal and most angry prose.

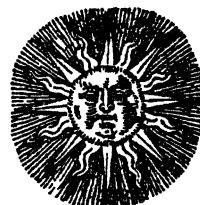
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¹¹ See, for example, Henry J. Todd, *The Poetical Works of John Milton* (6 vols., London, 1801), I, xlvi; Masson, II, 403-04; and James H. Hanford, *A Milton Handbook* (1946), p. 87.

AN
APOLOGY
Against a Pamphlet
CALLED
A Modest Confutation
of the Animadversions upon
the Remonstrant against
SMECTYMNUS.

S.M. E.G. T.Y. - M.N. - W.S.



LONDON,
Printed by E. G. for John Rothwell, and are
to be sold at the signe of the Sunne
in Pauls Church-yard. 1642.

An Apology, &c.

IF, READERS, to that same great difficulty of well doing what we certainly know, were not added in most men as great a carelessness of knowing what they, and others ought to do, we had bin long ere this, no doubt but all of us much farther on our way to some degree of peace and happinesse in this kingdome. But since our sinfull neglect of practising that which we know to be undoubtedly true and good, hath brought forth among us, through Gods just anger so great a difficulty now to know that which otherwise might be soone learnt, and hath divided us by a controversie of great importance indeed, but of no hard solution, which is the more our punishment, I resolv'd (of what small moment soever I might be thought) to stand on that side where I saw both the plain autority of Scripture leading, and the reason of justice and equity perswading; with this opinion which esteemes it more unlike a Christian to be a cold neuter in the cause of the Church, then the law of *Solon*¹ made it punishable after a sedition in the State. And because I observe that feare and dull disposition, lukewarmenesse & sloth are not seldomer wont to cloak themselves under the affected name of moderation,² then true and

¹ Athenian lawgiver, ca. 638–558 B.C. J. A. St. John (Bohn, III, 95) explains the reference, “According to Suidas it was a law of Solon that he who stood neuter in any public sedition should be declared . . . infamous . . . *Archaeol. Graec* i 215.” Solon is referred to in *Church-Government* (above, p. 779), and Suidas is cited in the marginalia to Euripides (Columbia, XVIII, 317). The law is referred to by Plutarch in his account of Solon; see *Plutarch's Lives, the Translation Called Dryden's*, ed. Arthur H. Clough (5 vols., Boston, 1885), I, 187. Milton may have been reminded of the law, however, by Bacon's mention of it at the end of *A Wise and Moderate Discourse, Concerning Church-Affaires* (1641), from which Milton quoted in *CPB* and *Animadversions* (above, pp. 450, 668). See George W. Whiting, *Milton's Literary Milieu*, pp. 268–69, and below, p. 882, where Milton refers to the *Modest Confutation's* reference to Bacon. Bacon's work is reprinted in *The Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. Basil Montagu (16 vols., London, 1827), VII, 28–60, and in Spedding, *Letters and Life* (1861), I, 74–95.

² Cf. *Of Reformation* (above, p. 537): “But their devotion most commonly comes to that queazy temper of luke-warmenesse, that gives a Vomit to God himselfe.”

lively zeale is customably disparesg'd with the terme of indiscretion, bitternesse, and choler, I could not to my thinking honor a good cause more from the heart, then by defending it earnestly, as oft as I could judge it to behoove me, notwithstanding any false name that could be invented to wrong, or undervalue an honest meaning. Wherein although I have not doubted to single forth more then once, such of them as were thought the chiefe and most nominated oppo-[1]sers on the other side, whom no man else undertooke: if I have done well either to be confident of the truth, whose force is best seene against the ablest resistance, or to be jealous and tender of the hurt that might be done among the weaker by the intrapping auctority of great names titl'd to false opinions, or that it be lawfull to attribute somewhat to guifts of Gods imparting, which I boast not, but thankfully acknowledge, and feare also lest at my certaine account they be reckon'd to me many rather then few, or if lastly it be but justice not to defraud of due esteeme the wearisome labours and studious watchings, wherein I have spent and tir'd out almost a whole youth, I shall not distrust to be acquitted of presumption.³ Knowing that if heretofore all ages have receav'd with favour and good acceptance the earliest industry of him that hath beene hopefull, it were but hard measure now, if the freedome of any timely spirit should be opprest merely by the big and blunted⁴ fame of his elder adversary; and that his sufficiency must be now sentenc't, not by pondering the reason he shewes, but by calculating the yeares he brings. However, as my purpose is not, nor hath beene formerly, to looke on my adversary abroad, through the deceaving glasse of other mens great opinion of him, but at home, where I may finde him in the proper light of his owne worth, so now against the rancor of an evill tongue, from which I never thought so absurdly, as that I of all men should be exempt, I must be forc't to proceed from the unfained and diligent inquiry of mine owne conscience at home (for better way I know not, Readers) to give a more

³ See the title page of *Of Prelatical Episcopacy* (above, p. 623) and Masson, II, 248-51, 253-57, for "the most nominated opposers" The phrase "guifts of Gods imparting" may be an allusion to James 1:17 (cf John 3:27 and I Corinthians 4:7). Hanford, "The Youth of Milton," *Studies in Shakespeare, Milton, and Donne*, suggested that the "wearisome labours and studious watchings" referred to the Horton years. The entire passage is related to the later autobiographical statement; see below, p. 884, n. 85

⁴ Dull'd; *NED* dates its first entry 1677. Milton may have in mind the fact that Hall had been popular with the Puritans until he wrote *Episcopacie by Divine Right*. See Masson, II, 122-26.

true account of my selfe abroad then this modest Confuter,⁵ as he calls himselfe, hath given of me. Albeit that in doing this I shall be sensible of two things which to me will be nothing pleasant; the one is, that not unlikely I shall be thought too much a party in mine owne cause, and therein to see least; the other, that I shall be put unwillingly to molest the publick view with the vindication of a private name; as if it were worth the while that the people should care whether such a one were thus, or thus. Yet those I intreat who have found the leasure to reade that name, however of small repute, unworthily defam'd, would be so good and so patient as to heare the same person not unneedfully defended. I will not deny but that the best apology against false accusers is silence and sufferance,⁶ and honest deeds set against dishonest words.⁷ And that I could at this time most easily, and securely, [2] with the least losse of reputation use no other defence, I need not despaire to win beliefe. Whether I consider both the foolish contriving, and ridiculous aiming of these his slanderous bolts, shot so wide of any suspicion to be fastn'd on me, that I have oft with inward contentment perceav'd my friends congratulating themselves in my innocence, and my enemies ashamed of their partners folly. Or whether I look at these present times wherein most men now scarce permitted the liberty to think over their owne concernments have remov'd the seat of their thoughts more outward to the expectation of publick events. Or whether the examples of men, either noble or religious, who have sat downe lately with a meeke silence and sufferance under many libellous endorsements, may be a rule to others, I might well appease my self to put up any reproaches in such an honourable society of fellow-sufferers⁸ using no other defence. And were it that slander would be content to make an end where it first fixes, and not

⁵ So called from the title page of the pamphlet Milton is answering: *A Modest Confutation of a Slanderous and Scurrilous Libell*, which was anonymous. As noted in the editor's preface, above, p. 863, Milton wavers between thinking that the author was Hall or his son.

⁶ The words recur twice below, but no source has been found. Possibly Milton had in mind Christ's behavior before Pilate, Matthew 27:12-14.

⁷ Below appears the paraphrase, "speaking deeds against faltering words." No exact source has been found, but in *English Proverbs and Proverbial Expressions*, ed. G. L. Apperson (London: J. M. Dent, 1929), occurs the following: "Draxe (1633), 'Doing is better than Saying.'"

⁸ Joshua H. Neumann, "Milton's Prose Vocabulary," *PMLA*, LX (1945), 110, notes that the first listing in *NED* is dated 1867.

seek to cast out the like infamy upon each thing that hath but any relation to the person traduc't, I should have pleaded against this Confuter by no other advocates, then those which I first commended, Silence, and Sufferance, and speaking deeds against faltering words. But when I discern'd his intent was not so much to smite at me, as through me to render odious the truth which I had written, and to staine with ignominy that Evangelick doctrine which opposes the tradition of Prelaty, I conceav'd my selfe to be now not as mine own person, but as a member incorporate into that truth whereof I was perswaded, and whereof I had declar'd openly to be a partaker. Whereupon I thought it my duty, if not to my selfe, yet to the religious cause I had in hand, not to leave on my garment the least spot, or blemish in good name so long as God should give me to say that which might wipe it off. Lest those disgraces which I ought to suffer, if it so befall me, for my religion, through my default religion be made liable to suffer for me. And, whether it might not something reflect upon those reverent men whose friend I may be thought in writing the Animadversions,⁹ was not my last care to consider, if I should rest under these reproaches having the same common adversary with them, it might be counted small credit for their cause to have found such an assistant, as this babler hath devis'd me. What other thing in his book there is of dispute, or question, in answering thereto I doubt not to be [3] justifi'd; except there be who will condemne me to have wasted time in throwing downe that which could not keepe it selfe up. As for others who notwithstanding what I can allege have yet decreed to mis-interpret the intents of my reply, I suppose they would have found as many causes to have misconceav'd the reasons of my silence.

To beginne therefore an Apology for those animadversions which I writ against the Remonstrant in defence of *Smectymnus*, since the Preface, which was purposely set before them, is not thought apologeticall anough; it will be best to acquaint ye, Readers, before other things, what the meaning was to write them in that manner which I did. For I do not look to be askt wherefore I writ the book, it being no difficulty to answer that I did it to those ends which the best men

⁹ i.e., the Smectymnuans. Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstowe. See Masson, II, 219, and below, pp. 1001-08.

propose to themselves when they write. But wherfore in that manner neglecting the maine bulk of all that specious antiquity,¹⁰ which might stunne children, but not men, I chose rather to observe some kinde of military advantages to await him at his forragings, at his watrings, and when ever he felt himselfe secure to solace his veine inderision of his more serious opponents.¹¹ And here let me have pardon, Readers, if the remembrance of that which he hath licenc't himselfe to utter contemptuously of those reverend men provoke me to doe that over againe which some expect I should excuse as too freely done; since I have two provocations, his latest insulting in his short answer, and their finall patience.¹² I had no fear but that the authors of *Smectymnus* to all the shew of solidity which the Remonstrant could bring, were prepar'd both with skill and purpose to returne a suffizing answer, and were able anough to lay the dust and pudder¹³ in antiquity, which he and his, out of stratagem, are wont to raise; but when I saw his weake arguments headed with sharpe taunts, and that his designe was, if he could not refute them, yet at least with quips and snapping adagies¹⁴ to vapour¹⁵ them out, which they bent only upon the businesse were minded to let passe,¹⁶ by how much I saw them taking little thought for their own injuries, I must confesse I took it as my part the lesse to endure that my respected friends through their own unnecessary patience should thus lye at

¹⁰ *Of Reformation* (above, pp 541 ff) and *Of Prelatical Episcopacy* (above, pp. 626-31) show earlier examples of Milton's contempt for arguments in favor of Episcopacy based on the church fathers.

¹¹ See James H. Hanford, "Milton and the Art of War," *SP*, XVIII (1921), 232-66, for a discussion of such military figures of speech.

¹² Hall's third pamphlet appeared in midsummer, 1641 (registered July 28, 1641), but remained unanswered by the Smectymnuans. See Masson, II, 391.

¹³ *The Student's Milton*, ed. Frank A. Patterson (New York: Crofts, 1934), annotates (p 107) "Bustle, confusion." *NED* lists "pudder" as an obsolete variant of "pother," the first meaning of which is "A choking smoke or atmosphere of dust." Cf. *Of Reformation*, above, p 522. "all in a pudder shuffles up to himself such a God."

¹⁴ A by-form of "adage." *NED*.

¹⁵ "To force (a person) into or out of something, to put down by talking big." *NED*, where the first citation is from Bulstrode Whitelocke, *A Journal of the Swedish Embassy* (1654, publ. 1712).

¹⁶ See both Smectymnuan pamphlets, *An Answer* and *A Vindication of the Answer*. Cf. *An Answer* (1641), p. 2: "The Preface fils almost a fourth part of the Booke, and the rest swels with so many *passionate Rhetorizations*, as it is harder for us in the multitude of his words to finde out what his argument is, that we have to answer, then to answer it when it is found."

the mercy of a coy flurting¹⁷ stile; to be girded with frumps¹⁸ and curtall¹⁹ gibes, by one who makes sentences by the Statute, as if all above three [4] inches long were confiscat.²⁰ To me it seem'd an indignity, that whom his whole wisdome could not move from their place, them²¹ his impetuous folly should presume to ride over. And if I were more warme then was meet in any passage of that booke, which yet I do not yeild, I might use therein the patronage of no worse an author then *Gregory Nyssen*, who mentioning his sharpnesse against *Eunomius* in the defence of his brother *Basil*,²² holds himselfe irreprovable in that it was not for himselfe, but in the cause of his brother; and in such cases, saith he, perhaps it is worthier pardon to be angry, then to be cooler. And whereas this Confuter taxes the whole discourse of levity, I shall shew ye, Readers, wheresoever it shall be objected in particular that I have answer'd with as little lightnesse as the Remonstrant hath given example. I have not beeene so light as the palme of a Bishop which is the lightest thing in the world when he brings out his book of Ordination: For then contrary to that which is wont in releasing out of prison, any one that will pay his fees is layd hands on. Another reason, it would not be amisse though the Remonstrant were told, wherefore he was in that unusuall manner beleaguer'd; and this was it, to pluck out of the heads of his admirers the conceit that all who are not Prelaticall, are grosse-headed, thick witted, illiterat, shallow. Can nothing then but Episcopacy teach men to speak good English, to pick & order a set of words judiciously?²³ Must we learne from Canons and quaint Sermonings in-

¹⁷ *NED* lists under "Flirt": "To sneer or scoff at, flout."

¹⁸ "A mocking speech or action, a flout, a jeer" *NED*.

¹⁹ "Abridged, curtailed; brief, scant, curt." *NED* Cf. *Eikonoklastes*, Chapter XIV: "curtal aphorisms."

²⁰ Like Hall's pamphlets, *Modest Confutation* lacks Milton's elaborate sentence structure; here as later Milton derides its short sentences See below, p. 894, n 141.

²¹ Modern usage would omit and change the earlier "that whom" to "those whom."

²² Gregory Nyssenus, Bishop of Nyssa in Cappadocia (373-395), brother of Basil the Great and leading theologian. He and his brother and their common friend Gregory Nazianzen were the chief champions of the orthodox Nicene faith against Arianism and Apollinarism

²³ Besides Bishop Hall's attacks in his replies to the Smectymnuans, there were many satiric pictures of the lack of learning among the Puritans *An Apology for Bishops or, a Plea for Learning* (1641), Thomason, E167(12), used verse. Another example is the following statement of "John Harris, Gent.," author of *The Puritans Impurities* (1641), E173(8), p. 2: "That they are ignorant soules may ap-

terlin'd with barbarous Latin to illumin a period, to wreath an Enthymema ²⁴ wth maistrous dexterity? I rather encline, as I have heard it observ'd, that a Jesuits Italian when he writes, is ever naught, though he be borne and bred a *Florentine*,²⁵ so to thinke that from like causes we may go neere to observe the same in the stile of a Prelat. For doubtlesse that indeed according to art is most eloquent, which returnes and approaches neerest to nature from whence it came; and they expresse nature best, who in their lives least wander from her safe leading, which may be call'd regenerate reason.²⁶ So that how he should be truly eloquent who is not withall a good man, I see not. Never the lesse as oft as is to be dealt with men who pride themselves in their supposed art, to leave th̄e unexcusable wherin they will not be better'd there be of those that esteeme Prelaty a figment, who yet can pipe, if they can dance, nor will be unfurnisht to shew that what the Prelats admire and have not, others have and admire not. [5] The knowledge whereof, and not of that only, but of what the Scripture teacheth us how we ought to withstand the perverters of the Gospell²⁷ were those other motives which gave the animadversions no leave to remit a continuall vehemence throughout the book. For as in teaching, doubtlesse the Spirit of meeknesse is most powerfull, so are the meeke only fit persons to be taught: ²⁸ as for the proud, the obstinate, and false Doctors of mens devices, be taught they will not; but discover'd and laid open they must be. For how can they admit of teaching who have the condemnation of God already upon them for refusing divine instruction; ²⁹ that is, to be *fill'd with their own devices*,

pear in this, that they preferre the Discipline of ignorant men of their owne Society, before the Discipline of learned men."

²⁴ *NED* cites this passage with the explanation: "After Aristotle's use. An argument based on merely probable grounds, a rhetorical argument as distinguished from a demonstrative one."

²⁵ No source found. Cf. *Of Reformation* (above, p. 586) and *Animadversions* (above, p. 724), where Jesuits are attacked for lack of learning.

²⁶ Cf. *Church-Government* (above, p. 764) on "those unwritten lawes and ideas which nature hath engraven in us." Later Milton elaborates the idea (below, pp. 890-93).

²⁷ Among other places see Romans 16:17, Galatians 1:8-9, Ephesians 6:13-14, and II Thessalonians 2:15, 3.6.

²⁸ "And the servant of the Lord must not strive; but be gentle to all men, apt to teach, patient; In meekness instructing those that oppose themselves." II Timothy 2:24-25.

²⁹ Cf. John 3:18-19 for refusal of divine instruction, for teaching, see Romans 2:21.

as in the Proverbs we may reade; ³⁰ therefore we may safely imitate the method that God uses; *with the froward to be froward,³¹ and to throw scorne upon the scorner,³²* whom if any thing, nothing else will heale. And if *the righteous shall laugh at the destruction of the ungodly,³³* they may also laugh at their pertinacious and incurable obstinacy, and at the same time be mov'd with detestation of their seducing malice, who employ all their wits to defend a Prelaty usurpt, and to deprave that just government, which pride and ambition partly by fine fetches and pretences, partly by force, hath shoulder'd out of the Church. And against such kind of deceavers openly and earnestly to protest, lest any one should be inquisitive wherefore this or that man is forwarder then others, let him know that this office goes not by age, or youth, but to whomsoever God shall give apparently the will, the Spirit, and the utterance.³⁴ Ye have heard the reasons for which I thought not my selfe exempted from associating with good men in their labours toward the Churches welfare: to which if any one brought opposition, I brought my best resistance. If in requitall of this and for that I have not been negligent toward the reputation of my friends, I have gain'd a name bestuck, or as I may say, bedeckt with the reproaches and reviles of this modest Confuter, it shall be to me neither strange, nor unwelcome; as that which could not come in a better time.

Having render'd an account, what induc't me to write those animadversions in that manner as I writ them, I come now to see what the confutatio hath to say against thē; but so as the confuter shall hear first what I have to say against his confutation. And because he pretends to be a great conjector ³⁵ at other men by their writings, I will not faile to give ye, Readers, a present taste of [6] him from his own title; hung out like a toling ³⁶ signe-post to call passengers, not simply a *confutation* but a *modest confutation* with a laudatory of it

³⁰ Proverbs 1:31.

³¹ Psalms 18.26.

³² Proverbs 3:34. *Cf.* Proverbs 19:25.

³³ Psalms 52 5-6.

³⁴ Perhaps an allusion to I Timothy 4:12: "Let no man despise thy youth; but be thou an example of the believers, in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity"

³⁵ Conjecturer. "To The Reader," *Modest Confutation*: "I have no further notice of him, than he hath been pleased, in his immodest and injurious Libell to give of himself."

³⁶ "Enticing or alluring." *NED*.

selfe obtruded in the very first word.³⁷ Whereas a modest title should only informe the buyer what the book containes without furder insinuation, this officious epithet so hastily assuming the modesty w^{ch} others are to judge of by reading, not the author to anticipate to himselfe by forestalling, is a strong presumption that his modesty set there to sale in the frontispice, is not much addicted to blush. A surer signe of his lost shame he could not have given, then seeking thus unseasonably to prepossesse men of his modesty. And seeing he hath neither kept his word in the sequel, nor omitted any kinde of boldnesse in slandering, tis manifest his purpose was only to rub the forehead of his title with this word *modest*, that he might not want colour³⁸ to be the more impudent throughout his whole confutation. Next what can equally favour of injustice, and plaine arrogance, as to prejudice and forecondemne his adversary in the title for *slanderingous and scurrilous*, and as the Remonstrants fashion is, for *frivolous, tedious, and false*,³⁹ not staying till the Reader can hear him prov'd so in the following discourse; which is one cause of a suspicion that in setting forth this pamphlet the Remonstrant was not unconsulted with; thus his first addresse was *an humble Remonstrance by a dutifull son of the Church*, almost as if he had said her white-boy.⁴⁰ His next was *a defence* (a wonder how it scapt some praising adjunct) *against the frivolous and false exceptions of Smectymnus*, sitting in the chaire of his Title page upon his poore cast adversaries both as a Judge and Party, and that before the jury of Readers can be impannell'd. His last was *A short answer to a tedious vindication*; so little can he suffer a man to measure either with his eye or judgement, what is short or what tedious without his preoccupying direction: and from hence is begotten this *modest confutation against a slanderous*

³⁷ Here as a little later Milton is quoting from the complete title page of the *Modest Confutation*.

³⁸ Note the double meaning, as often in Milton's prose. color from rubbing and "fair pretence"

³⁹ Throughout the pamphlet Milton wavers between identifying the anonymous author of the *Modest Confutation* with the Remonstrant, i e., Joseph Hall, Bishop of Norwich, and treating him as Hall's friend or son. Here he begins to present evidence from the titles of Hall's three Smectymnian pamphlets: *An Humble Remonstrance* (1640), *A Defence of the Humble Remonstrance* (1641), and *A Short Answer to the Tedious Vindication of Smectymnus* (1641). Reprinted in Volume IX of *The Works of the Right Reverend Joseph Hall, D D.* (1863), ed Philip Wynter

⁴⁰ "A favorite, pet, or darling boy: a term of endearment for a boy or (usually) man, derogatory." *NED*.

and *scurrilous libell*. I conceave, Readers, much may be guest at the man and his book, what depth there is, by the framing of his title, which being in this Remonstrant so rash, and unadvised as ye see, I conceit him to be neere a kin to him who set forth a Passion Sermon with a formall Dedicatory in great letters to our Saviour.⁴¹ Although I know that all we do ought to begin and end to his praise and glory, yet to inscribe him in a void place with flourishes, as a man in complement uses to trick up the name of some Esquire, Gentle-[7]man, or Lord Paramont⁴² at Common Law, to be his book patron with the appendant form of a ceremonious presentment, wil ever appeare among the judicious to be but an an insuls⁴³ and frigid affectation. As no lesse was that before his book against the Brownists to write a Letter to a prosopopæa a certain rhetoriz'd woman whom he calls mother, and complains of some that laid whoredome to her charge; and certainly had he folded his Epistle with a superscription to be deliver'd to that female figure by any Post or Carrier who were not a Ubiquitary, it had beene a most miraculous greeting.⁴⁴ We finde the Primitive Doctors as oft as they writ to Churches, speaking to them as to a number of faithfull brethren and sons, and not to make a cloudy transmigration of sexes in such a familiar way of writing as an Epistle ought to be, leaving the track of common adresse, to runne up, and tread the aire in metaphoricall compellations,⁴⁵ and many fond utterances better let alone. But I step againe to this emblazoner of his Title page (whether it be the same man or no I leave it in the midst) and here I finde him pronouncing without reprieve those animadversions to be *a slanderous and scurrilous libell*. To which I, Readers, that they are neither slanderous, nor scurrilous, will answer

⁴¹ Refers to the dedication of Hall's *The Passion Sermon Preached at Paule's Crosse on Good-Friday, Apr. 14. 1609.* (1609, UTSL; *Works*, 1863, V, 24). Bohn, III, 103–04 n., is in error about the date of printing being 1642.

⁴² "In *Lord paramount*, lord superior, overlord . . . one who exercises supreme power or jurisdiction." *NED*.

⁴³ "Lacking wit or sense; dull, stupid, senseless, absurd." *NED*.

⁴⁴ The book against the Brownists is Hall's *A Common Apology of the Church of England against the . . . Brownists* (1610; *Works*, 1863, IX, 1). It begins with a letter (p. 2) "To Our Gracious and Blessed Mother, The Church of England." "Ubiquitary" is "one that is or can be everywhere at once." *NED*

⁴⁵ According to *NED* "compellation" is "an addressing or calling upon anyone, an address; the words addressed to any one" Milton is referring to the letter and its elaborate allusions to the church such as the following: "Thou mayest be black, but thou art comely. The daughters have seen thee, and counted the blessed, even the queen and the concubines, and they have praised thee."

in what place of his book he shall be found with reason, and not inke only in his mouth. Nor can it be a libell more then his owne, which is both namelesse, and full of slanders, and if in this that it freely speaks of things amisse in religion, but establisht by act of State, I see not how *Wickleffe*⁴⁶ and *Luther*,⁴⁷ with all the first Martyrs, and reformers, could avoid the imputation of libelling. I never thought the humane frailty of erring in cases of religion infamy to a State, no more then to a Councell; it had therefore beene neither civil, nor Christianly, to derogate the honour of the State for that cause,⁴⁸ especially when I saw the Parlament it selfe piously and magnanimously bent to supply and reforme the defects and oversights of their forefathers,⁴⁹ which to the godly and repentant ages of the Jewes were often matter of humble confessing and bewailing, not of confident asserting and maintaining.⁵⁰ Of the State therefore I found good reason to speak all honourable things, and to joyne in petition with good men that petition'd:⁵¹ but against the Prelats who were the only seducers and mis-leaders of the State to constitute the government of the Church not rightly, me thought I had not vehemence enough. And thus, Readers, by the exam-[8]ple which hee hath set mee I have given yee two or three notes of him out of his Title page; by which his firstlings feare not to guesse boldly at his whole lumpe, for that guesse will not faile ye; and although I tell him keen truth, yet he may beare with me, since I am like to chase⁵² him into some good knowledge, and others, I trust, shall not mis-spend their leisure. For this my aime is, if I am forc't to be unpleasing to him whose fault it is, I shall not

⁴⁶ As noted in Bohn, III, 104-05 n, Milton esteemed Wycliffe "with particular veneration." See *Of Reformation* (above, p. 525) and *Animadversions* (above, p. 704).

⁴⁷ Below in Section 1 (p. 897) Milton elaborates this idea.

⁴⁸ As in *Of Reformation* (above, p.569), Milton rejects the authority of the councils. The passage probably refers to the opening of the *Modest Confutation*, which charges the *Animadversions* with (p. 1) "having done violence . . . to the person of an holy and religious Prelate, the eares of all good Christians within our Church, the established Laws of the Kingdom, the pretious and dear name of our common Master and Saviour Christ Jesus "

⁴⁹ See Section 6, below, pp. 922-28, Milton's long digression concerning the Long Parliament.

⁵⁰ Perhaps referring to Nehemiah 1:6, 9:2-3, and Daniel 9.

⁵¹ Doubtless the London Petition, December 11, 1640. Masson says (II, 213) Milton was "probably" one of the 15,000 signers. The petition is mentioned in *Animadversions* (above, p. 676). For text of the petition see below, pp. 977-84.

⁵² Some copies read *chafe*. See Jochums, *An Apology* (1950), p. 21.

forget at the same time to be usefull in some thing to the stander by.

As therefore he began in the Title, so in the next leafe he makes it his first businesse to tamper with his Reader by sycophanting⁵³ and misnaming the worke of his adversary. He calls it *a mime thrust forth upon the stage to make up the breaches of those solemne Scenes between the Prelats and the Smectymnuans*.⁵⁴ Wherein while he is so overgreedy to fix a name of ill sound upon another, note how stupid he is to expose himselfe, or his own friends to the same ignominy; likening those grave controversies to a piece of Stagery, or Scene-worke where his owne Remonstrant whether in Buskin or Sock must of all right be counted the chiefe Player, be it boasting *Thraso*,⁵⁵ or *Davus that troubles all things*,⁵⁶ or one who can shift into any shape, I meddle not; let him explicate who hath resembl'd the whole argument to a Comedy, for *Tragicall*, he sayes, *were too ominous*. Nor yet doth he tell us what a Mime is, whereof we have no pattern from ancient writers except some frgments, which containe many acute and wise sentences. And this we know in *Laertius*, that the Mimes of *Sophron* were of such reckning with *Plato*, as to take them nightly to read on and after make them his pillow.⁵⁷ *Scaliger* describes a Mime to be a Poem imitating any action to stirre up laughter.⁵⁸ But this being neither Poem, nor yet ridiculous, how is it but abusively

⁵³ "Calumniating, slandering" NED

⁵⁴ A paraphrase of "To the Reader," *Modest Confutation* (1642): "Thou art acquainted with the late and hot bickerings between the Prelates and Smectymnuans: To make up the breaches of whose solemn Scenes, (it were too ominous to say Tragicall) there is thrust forth upon the Stage, as also to take the eare of the lesse intelligent, a scurrious Mime, a personated, and (as himself thinks) a grim, lowring, bitter fool."

⁵⁵ "A braggart, a boaster, from the name of a braggart soldier in Terence's *Eunuchus*" NED Edward H. Visiak, *Milton, Complete Poetry and Selected Prose* (New York: Random House, 1938), however, cites (p 846) Athenaeus (VI, 58): "Thraso was a well-known flatterer of Hieronymus who became tyrant of Syracuse in 214 B.C."

⁵⁶ "A name given to Roman slaves, frequent in the comedies of Plautus and Terence" *Harper's Latin Dictionary*, ed. Ethan A. Andrews; rev. ed., Charlton Lewis and Charles Short (New York, 1907).

⁵⁷ Irene Samuel, *Plato and Milton* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1947), pp. 14-15, quotes this passage and the one following the reference to Scaliger and identifies the present passage as referring to "Diogenes Laertius, *Life of Plato*, 18."

⁵⁸ Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484-1558) in his *Poetics* devotes Book I, Chapter 10, to mimes, discussing them also in Book III, Chapter 97. See F. M. Padelford, *Select Translations from Scaliger's Poetics* (New York, 1905), which translates only the second selection, pp. 57-69.

taxt to be a Mime. For if every book which may by chance excite to laugh here and there, must be term'd thus, then may the Dialogues of *Plato*, who for those his writings hath obtain'd the surname of Divine, be esteem'd as they are by that detractor in *Athenaeus*, no better then *Mimes*. Because there is scarce one of them, especially wherein some notable Sophister lies sweating and turmoyling under the inevitable, and mercilesse dilemma's of Socrates,⁵⁹ but that hee who reads, were it *Saturne* himselfe,⁶⁰ would be often rob'd of more then a smile. And whereas he tels us that *Scurrilous Mime was a personated grim lowring foole*,⁶¹ his [9] foolish language unwittingly writes foole upon his owne friend, for he who was there *personated*, was only the *Remonstrant*; the author is ever distinguisht from the person he introduces. But in an ill houre hath his unfortunate rashnesse stumbl'd upon the mention of miming. That hee might at length cease, which he hath not yet since he stept in, to gall and hurt him whom hee would aide. Could he not beware, could he not bethink him, was he so uncircumspect, as not to foresee, that no sooner would that word *Mime* be set eye on in the paper, but it would bring to minde that wretched pilgrimage over *Minshews Dictionary*⁶² call'd *Mundus alter & idem*, the idlest and the paltiest Mime that ever mounted upon banke.⁶³ Let him ask the *Author* of those toothlesse *Satyrs* who was the maker, or rather the anticreator of that universall foolery,⁶⁴ who

⁵⁹ Samuel, *Plato and Milton*, quotes, p. 14, and explains, n. 12. "See *Athenaeus*, *Deipnosophists* 11.504^b–509^e, where Pontianus speaks scornfully of *Plato's Dialogues*, and 10.440^b."

⁶⁰ Visiak, *Milton*, p. 846, explains as "the mythical king who introduced agriculture and civilization . . . into Italy." But perhaps "the cross dire-looking Planet" ("Arcades," l. 52), long associated in astrology with gloominess, according to *NED*. "Il Pensero," ll. 23–24, makes Saturn one of the parents of Melancholy.

⁶¹ An allusion to the passage from the *Modest Confutation* quoted above, (p. 879) under "the Smectymnuans."

⁶² John Minsheu, *Ductor in Linguas: The Guide into the Tongues* (1617; NYPL). See Franklin B. Williams, "Scholarly Publication in Shakespeare's Day: A Leading Case," in *Joseph Quincy Adams Memorial Studies* (Washington. Folger Library, 1948), pp. 755–73, for a discussion of this work.

⁶³ "A platform or stage from which to speak." *NED*. Joseph Hall's *Mundus Alter et Idem* (reprinted in Volume X of Hall, *Works*, 1863) appeared about 1605 in Frankfort, at Hanau in 1607, at Utrecht in 1643. A translation into English by John Healey appeared in 1609 and was reprinted in 1613–1614. See Huntington Brown, *The Discovery of a New World*, pp. xxx–xxxi. Hall's work, as is evident from Milton's comments, satirizes utopian writings and travelers' "voyages" as well as human vices.

⁶⁴ Joseph Hall, *Virgidemiarum, Sixe Bookes . . . of Tooth-lesse Satyrs* (1597), is reprinted in *Works*, IX, 562–680, and in Konrad Schulze, *Die Satiren Halls*

he was, who like that other principle of the *Maniches* the *Arch evill one*, when he had look't upon all that he had made and mapt out, could say no other but contrary to the Divine Mouth, that it was all very foolish.⁶⁵ That grave and noble invention which the greatest and sublimest wits in sundry ages, *Plato in Critias*, and our two famous countreymen, the one in his *Utopia*, the other in his *new Atlantis* chose, I may not say as a feild, but as a mighty Continent wherein to display the largenesse of their spirits by teaching this our world better and exacter things, then were yet known, or us'd,⁶⁶ this petty prevaricator of *America*, the zanie of *Columbus*, (for so he must be till his worlds end) ⁶⁷ having rambl'd over the huge topography ⁶⁸ of his own vain thoughts, no marvell, if he brought us home nothing but a meer tankard drollery, a venereous parjetory for a stewes.⁶⁹ Certainly he that could indure with a sober pen to sit and devise laws for drunkards to carouse by,⁷⁰ I doubt me whether the very sobernesse of such a one, like an unlicour'd *Silenus*,⁷¹ were not stark drunk. Let him go now and brand another man injuriously with the name of *Mime*, being himselfe the loosest and most extravagant *Mime*, that hath been heard of; whom no lesse then almost halfe the world could

(Berlin, 1910). The introduction (pp. 19-51) to *Heaven upon Earth and Characters of Virtues and Vices of Joseph Hall*, ed. Rudolf Kirk, gives further information about Hall's literary reputation.

⁶⁵ Smith and Wace, *Dictionary of Christian Biography and Literature*, III, 795-800, "Manicheans," explains that the system was dualistic, light being good and darkness evil. For a comment on this passage, see Martin A Larson, *The Modernity of Milton* (Chicago. University of Chicago Press, 1927), pp. 38-39.

⁶⁶ See Samuel, *Plato and Milton*, p. 15 *Utopia* is of course by Sir Thomas More, and *New Atlantis* by Sir Francis Bacon Cf Milton's less enthusiastic view from *Areopagitica* (1644, p. 17): "To sequester out of the world into *Atlantick* and *Eutopian* polities, which never can be drawn into use, will not mend our condition; but to ordain wisely as in this world of evill, in the midd'st whereof God hath plac't us unavoidably."

⁶⁷ Alluding to "The occasion of this Travel and the Pre-instruction for it," *Mundus Alter et Idem* (tr. Healey) See Brown, *Discovery of a New World*, pp. 9-17.

⁶⁸ The map of "Terra Australis Incognita" (*Discovery of a New World*, p. 12) from the 1605 edition of *Mundus Alter et Idem* shows the southern hemisphere covered by land, the locale of the imaginary countries described

⁶⁹ "Salacious (or lecherous) decorations for a brothel" Venereous: cf "venereal trains," *Samson Agonistes*, l. 533. Parjetory, according to *NED*, from parget, "ornamental work in plaster."

⁷⁰ The laws of "Carousu-kanikan" and "Drink-allia" occur in *Discovery of a New World*, pp. 54-55.

⁷¹ The tutor and constant attendant of Bacchus, always represented as drunken, lascivious, and mounted on an ass. *Harper's Latin Dictionary*.

serve for stage roome to play the *Mime* in.⁷² And let him advise againe with Sir *Francis Bacon* whom he cites to confute others, what it is to turn the sinnes of Christendome into a mimicall mockery, to rip up the saddest vices with a laughing countenance, especially where neither reprove nor better teaching is adjoyned.⁷³ Nor is my meaning, Readers, to shift off a blame from my selfe, by charging the like upon my accuser, but [10] shall only desire, that sentence may be respited, till I can come to some instance, whereto I may give answer.

Thus having spent his first onset not in confuting, but in a reasonlesse defaming of the book, the method of his malice hurries him to attempt the like against the Author: not by proofes and testimonies, but having no certaine notice of me, as he professes, furder then what he gathers from the animadversions,⁷⁴ blunders at me for the rest, and flings out stray crimes at a venture, which he could never, though he be a Serpent,⁷⁵ suck from any thing that I have written; but from his own stufft magazin,⁷⁶ and hoard of slanderous inventions, over and above that which he converted to venome in the drawing. To me Readers, it happens as a singular contentment, and let it be to good men no slight satisfaction, that the slanderer here confesses, he has no furder notice of mee then his owne conjecture. Although it had been honest to have inquir'd, before he utter'd such infamous words, and I am credibly inform'd he did inquire, but finding small comfort from the intelligence which he receav'd, whereon to ground the falsities which he had provided, thought it his likeliest course under a pretended ignorance to let drive at randome,⁷⁷ lest he should lose his odde

⁷² See above, p. 881, n. 68.

⁷³ *Animadversions* (above, p. 668) quotes Bacon, *A Wise and Moderate Discourse* (1641). The *Modest Confutation* (1642) quotes this Bacon tract as follows (p. 2): "To leave all reverend compassion towards evils, all religious indignation towards faults, to turn Religion into a Comedy or Satyr, to rip up wounds with a laughing countenance, to intermixe Scripture and scurrility sometimes in one sentence, is a thing far from the devout reverence of a Christian, and scant beseeeming the honest regard of a sober man." Hall's quotation varies slightly from Bacon's original, which appears in *A Wise and Moderate Discourse* (1641), p. 7.

⁷⁴ Milton is quoting from the *Modest Confutation*; see above, p. 875, n. 35.

⁷⁵ Genesis 3:1 describes the serpent as "more subtil than any beast of the field"; hence wiliness is associated with it. *NED*

⁷⁶ A store. Cf. *Samson Agonistes*, l. 1281.

⁷⁷ Both Haller, *Tracts on Liberty in the Puritan Revolution 1638-1647*, I, 129, and William R. Parker, *Milton's Contemporary Reputation*, pp. 17, 268-70, cite this statement of the Confuter in support of the smallness of Milton's reputation

ends which from some penurious Book of Characters ⁷⁸ he had been culling out and would faine apply. Not caring to burden me with those vices, whereof, among whom my conversation hath been, I have been ever least suspected; perhaps not without some suttle to cast me into envie, by bringing on me a necessity to enter into mine own praises.⁷⁹ In which argument ⁸⁰ I know every wise man is more unwillingly drawne to speak, then the most repining eare can be averse to heare. Neverthelesse since I dare not wish to passe this life unpersecuted of slanderous tongues, for God hath told us that to be generally prais'd is wofull,⁸¹ I shall relye on his promise to free the innocent from causelesse aspersions: ⁸² whereof nothing sooner can assure me, then if I shall feele him now assisting me in the just vindication of my selfe, which yet I could deferre, it being more meet that to those other matters of publick debatement in this book I should give attendance first, but that I feare it would but harme the truth, for me to reason in her behalfe, so long as I should suffer my honest estimation to lye unpurg'd from these insolent suspicions. And if I shall be large, or unwonted in justifying my selfe to those who know me not, for else it would be needlesse, let them consi-[11]der, that a short slander will oft times reach farder then a long apology: ⁸³ and that he who will do justly to all men, must begin from knowing how, if it so happen, to be not unjust to himselfe.⁸⁴ I must be thought, if this libeller (for now he shewes himselfe to be so) can finde belief, after an inordinat and riotous youth spent at the *Vniversity*, to have bin at

at this time. Since Milton states here that he was inquired about and nothing derogatory was available about him, it hardly seems that he was *without* reputation but that he had a good reputation.

⁷⁸ Probably an oblique allusion to another of Hall's writings, *Characters of Vertues and Vices* (1608; *Works*, 1863, VI, 89-125) See Rudolf Kirk's introduction (pp. 19-51) to his edition of *Heaven upon Earth and Characters of Vertues and Vices*.

⁷⁹ Milton may have had in mind Proverbs 27.2: "Let another man praise thee, and not thine own mouth."

⁸⁰ Subject matter of discussion or discourse, as often in Milton.

⁸¹ Luke 6:26.

⁸² The idea is contained in Matthew 5:11-12.

⁸³ No exact source; possibly alluding to Machiavelli's "Audacter calumniare semper aliquid haeret." Cf. Bacon (*De Augmentis Scientiarum*, VIII, ii [Works, 1857-74, V, 67]) "Calumniate boldly, for some of it will stick"

⁸⁴ Possibly a paraphrase of Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*, IX, 1: "The unjust man is unjust to himself, for he makes himself bad."

length *vomited out thence*.⁸⁵ For which commodious lye, that he may be encourag'd in the trade another time, I thank him; for it hath given me an apt occasion to acknowledge publickly with all gratefull minde, that more then ordinary favour and respect which I found above any of my equals⁸⁶ at the hands of those courteous and learned men, the Fellowes of that Colledge wherein I spent some yeares: who at my parting, after I had taken two degrees, as the manner is, signifi'd many wayes, how much better it would content them that I would stay; as by many Letters full of kindnesse and loving respect both before that time, and long after I was assur'd of their singular good affection towards me.⁸⁷ Which being likewise propense⁸⁸ to all such as were for their studious and civill life worthy of esteeme, I could not wrong their judgements, and upright intentions, so much as to think I had that regard from them for other cause then that I might be still encourag'd to proceed in the honest and laudable courses, of which they apprehended I had given good prooфе. And to those ingenuous and friendly men who were ever the countnancers of vertuous and hopefull wits, I wish the best, and happiest things, that friends in absence wish one to another. As for the common approbation or dislike of that place, as now it is, that I should esteeme or disesteeme my selfe or any other the more for that, too simple and too credulous is the Confuter, if he thinke to obtaine with me, or any right disceiner.⁸⁹ Of small practize were that Physitian who could not judge

⁸⁵ Because of its autobiographical significance the material from here through p. 18 has been heavily commented upon since the eighteenth century. See Masson, I, 282-84; II, 399-404; James H. Hanford, *A Milton Handbook* (4th ed., New York: F. S. Crofts, 1946), especially Appendix A, pp. 355-64, and Appendix B, pp. 364-83, which link the statements here with those in *Church-Government*, Book II, preface, and the *Second Defence*. Vissiak, *Milton*, p. 846, and Parker, *Milton's Contemporary Reputation*, pp. 269-70, interpret "vomited" to be a reference to Milton's "rustication," although Parker concedes that the Confuter may only have meant "graduated." "To the Reader," *Modest Confutation*: "It is like hee spent his youth, in loytering, bezelling, and harlotting. Thus being grown to an Impostume in the brest of the Vniversity, he was at length vomited out thence into a Suburbe sinke about London; which, since his coming up, hath groaned under two ills, Him, and the Plague." See also the comment in Bohn, III, 110 n., about Mitford, Brydges, and Johnson, and Hughes, *Milton Prose Selections*, p. 149, n. 4

⁸⁶ A contemporary student; cf. Galatians 1:14. "And profited in the Jews' religion above many my equals in mine own nation"

⁸⁷ Masson, I, 234-39, discusses this thoroughly.

⁸⁸ "Having an inclination, bias, or propensity to something; cf. *Samson Agonistes*, l. 455." *NED*.

⁸⁹ Milton means he refuses to be drawn into an argument about the university.

by what both she or her sister, hath of long time vomited, that the worser stiffe she strongly keeps in her stomach, but the better she is ever kecking at, and is queasie.⁹⁰ She vomits now out of sicknesse, but ere it be well with her, she must vomit by strong physick. In the meane while that *Suburb sinke*, as this rude Scavenger calls it, and more then scurrilously taunts it with the *plague*,⁹¹ having a worse plague, in his middle entraile, that suburb wherein I dwell, shall be in my account a more honourable place then his University.⁹² Which as in the time of her better health, and mine owne younger judgement I never great-[12]ly admir'd, so now much lesse. But he followes me to the City, still usurping⁹³ and forging beyond his book notice, which only he affirmes to have had; *and where my morning haunts are he wisses not*.⁹⁴ Tis wonder, that being so rare an Alchymist of slander, he could not extract that, as well as the University vomit, and the Suburb sinke which his art could distill so cunningly, but because his Limbeck⁹⁵ failes him, to give him and envie the more vexation, Ile tell him. Those morning haunts are where they should be, at home, not sleeping, or concocting⁹⁶ the surfets of an irregular feast, but up, and stirring, in winter often ere the sound of any bell awake men to labour, or to devotion; in Summer as oft with the Bird that first rouses, or not much tardier, to reade good Authors, or cause them to be read, till the attention bee weary, or memory have his full fraught. Then with usefull and generous labours preserving the bodies health, and hardinesse; to render lightsome, cleare, and not lumpish obedience

Hanford, *Handbook*, Appendix A, cites the numerous references of Milton's dislike for the training he received there. See especially Prolusion III, above, p. 240, and *Church-Government*, above, p. 854.

⁹⁰ Kester Svendsen, "Milton and Medical Lore," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, XIII (1943), 158-84, discusses Milton's use of such medical terminology and cites analogies with medieval encyclopedias of science "She and her sister": Cambridge and Oxford.

⁹¹ Referring to the quotation given above, p. 884, n. 85.

⁹² See below, p. 920, where Milton calls the Confuter "thou lozel Bachelor of Art," i.e., worthless, unfinished scholar Suburb. Milton was then living in Aldersgate Street. Masson, II, 401.

⁹³ "To claim or make pretensions, to assume or attempt arrogantly" *NED*. Cf. *Paradise Lost*, XI, 827-28. "shall heave the Ocean to usurp Beyond all bounds"

⁹⁴ "To the Reader," *Modest Confutation* (continuation of the passage quoted above, p. 884, n. 85): "Where his morning haunts are I wist not; but he that would finde him after dinner, must search the Play-Houses, or the Bordelli, for there I have traced him."

⁹⁵ "Alembic or still." *NED*.

⁹⁶ Digesting. See *Church-Government*, above, p. 797.

to the minde, to the cause of religion, and our Countries liberty, when it shall require firme hearts in sound bodies to stand and cover their stations,⁹⁷ rather then to see the ruine of our Protestation,⁹⁸ and the inforcement of a slavish life. These are the morning practises; proceed now to the afternoone; *in Playhouses*, he sayes, *and the Bordel-loes*.⁹⁹ Your intelligence, unfaithfull Spie of Canaan?¹⁰⁰ he gives in his evidence, that *there he hath trac't me*. Take him at his word Readers, but let him bring good sureties, ere ye dismisse him, that while he pretended to dogge others, he did not turne in for his owne pleasure; for so much in effect he concludes against himselfe, not contented to be caught in every other gin, but he must be such a novice, as to be still hamper'd in his owne hempe.¹⁰¹ In the Animadversions, saith he, I finde the mention of old clokes, fals beards, night-walkers, and salt lotion; therefore the Animadverter haunts Playhouses and Bordel-loes; for if hee did not, how could hee speake of such gear? Now that he may know what it is to be a childe, and yet to meddle with edg'd tooles,¹⁰² I turne his *Antistrephon*¹⁰³ upon his owne head; the Confuter knowes that these things are the furniture of Playhouses and Bordelloes, therefore by the same reason the *Confuter himselfe hath beene trac't in those places*. Was it such a dissolute speech telling of

⁹⁷ Hanford, "Milton and the Art of War," p. 244, rejects Masson's interpretation (Masson, II, 402, 481) of this passage as an indication Milton was drilling with the militia.

⁹⁸ Masson, II, 402, has "Protestantism," but Milton is referring to the Protestantation of May 3, 1641, mentioned later (below, p. 926). See Gardiner, IX, 353-56, and above, pp. 94-96.

⁹⁹ See above, p. 885, n. 94.

¹⁰⁰ Numbers 14:36; Neumann, "Milton's Prose Vocabulary," *PMLA*, LX (1945), 119, cites this as an example of Milton's use of Biblical names "allusively and substantively."

¹⁰¹ No exact source but a variation of "Hoist with his own Petard." See Stevenson, "Retribution II," *Home Book of Proverbs*, which lists Ovid's "In laqueos quos posuere, cadent" ("Let them fall into the snare which they have laid") and Erasmus' (*Adagia*, Chil. i, cent. i, No. 53) "Suo ipsius laqueo captus est" ("He is caught in his own snare") *NED* cites this passage of Milton's under "hamper". "entangled, caught." "Gin" is a trap or snare for game.

¹⁰² Apperson, *English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases*, quotes among others, "It is a proverbe wise and auncient/ Beware how you give any edged tool/ Unto a young child and unto a fool" (William Wager, *Longer Thou Livest*, 1568), and "Some say that it is not good Jesting with edge toles" (Gosson, *Schoole of Abuse*). Stevenson, *Home Book of Proverbs*, p. 337, cites Erasmus' rendition of the Greek of Diogenianis (*Adagia*, VI, 46) "Ne pueru gladium" ("Don't give a child a knife").

¹⁰³ "Antistrophon, an argument that is retorted upon an opponent." *NED*, which does not record Milton's spelling.

some Politicians who were wont to eavesdroppe in disguises, to say they were often lyable to a night-walking cudgeller, or the emptying of a Urinall? ¹⁰⁴ What if I [13] had writ as your friend the author of the aforesaid *Mime, Mundus alter & idem*, to have bin ravisht like some young *Cephalus* ¹⁰⁵ or *Hylas*, ¹⁰⁶ by a troope of camping Hus-wives in *Viraginia*, ¹⁰⁷ and that he was there forc't to sweare himselfe an uxorious varlet, then after a long servitude to have come into *Aphrodisia* that pleasant Countrey that gave such a sweet smell to his nostrils among the shamelesse Courtezans of *Desvergonia*? surely he would have then concluded me as constant at the Bordello, as the gally-slave at his Oare. But since there is such necessity to the hear-say of a Tire, a Periwig, or a Vizard, ¹⁰⁸ that Playes must have bin seene, what difficulty was there in that? when in the Colleges so many of the young Divines, and those in next aptitude to Divinity have bin seene so oft upon the Stage writhing and unboning their Clergie limmes to all the antick and dishonest gestures of Trinculo's, ¹⁰⁹ Buffons, and Bawds; prostituting the shame of that ministry which either they had, or were nigh having, to the eyes of Courtiers and Court-Ladies, with their Groomes and *Madamoisellaes*. There while they acted, and overacted, among other young scholars, I was a spectator; they thought themselves gallant men, and I thought them fools, they made sport, and I laught, they mispronounc't and I mislik't, and to make up the *atticisme*, ¹¹⁰ they were out, and I hist. Judge

¹⁰⁴ See *Animadversions*, above, p. 670.

¹⁰⁵ Called "the Attic boy" in "Il Pensero," l. 124, and named in Elegies III, V, and VII, was beloved by Aurora, the goddess of the dawn Hughes, *Prose Selections*, p. 152, n. 17, cites Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VII, 700-13

¹⁰⁶ Harper's *Latin Dictionary* describes Hylas as a beautiful youth of Oechalia (Argos) who accompanied Hercules on the Argonautic expedition. Carried off by nymphs, Hylas was long sought for by Hercules Milton's source was probably Theocritus, *Idyll XIII*. Milton mentions him in Elegy VII, "Epitaphium Daemonis," and *Paradise Regained*, II, 353.

¹⁰⁷ Like Aphrodisia and Desvergonia below, names of places mentioned in *Mundus Alter et Idem*. Healey translated them respectively, Shee-Land, Cockatrixia, and Shames-grave; "The Sepulchre of Modesty is in this Towne," i.e., "Shames-grave." See *Discovery of a New World*, pp. 64-76.

¹⁰⁸ Listed in *Modest Confutation* immediately following the quotation given above, p. 885, n. 94, "periwig" and "vizard" appear in *Animadversions*, above, pp. 668 and 711. "Tire": costume; "Periwig": wig; and "Vizard": mask. *NED*.

¹⁰⁹ A sailor and jester in Shakespeare's *Tempest* Hughes, *Prose Selections*, p. 153, n. 21, however, suggests a rustic of the same name in Thomas Tomkys' *Albumazar* played at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1614. See Bohn, III, 114-15 n.

¹¹⁰ Vissiak, *Milton*, p. 846, explains that the passage is "imitated from Demos-

now whether so many good text men were not sufficient to instruct me of false beards and vizards without more expositors; and how can this Confuter take the face to object to me the seeing of that which his reverent Prelats allow, and incite their young disciples to act. For if it be unlawfull¹¹¹ to sit and behold a mercenary Comedian personating that which is least unseemely for a hireling to doe, how much more blamefull is it to indure the sight of as vile things acted by persons either enter'd, or presently to enter into the ministery, and how much more foule and ignominious for them to be the actors.

But because as well by this upraiding to me the Bordello's, as by other suspicious glancings in his book he would seem privily to point me out to his Readers, as one whose custome of life were not honest, but licentious; I shall intreat to be born with though I digresse: & in a way not often trod acquaint ye with the summe of my thoughts in this matter through the course of my yeares and studies. Although I am not ignorant how hazardous it will be to do this under the nose of the envious, as it were in skirmish [14] to change the compact order, and instead of outward actions to bring inmost thoughts into front.¹¹² And I must tell ye Readers, that by this sort of men I have bin already bitten at;¹¹³ yet shall they not for me know how slightly they are esteem'd, unlesse they have so much learning as to reade what in Greek *Απειροκαλία*¹¹⁴ is, which together with envie is the common disease of those who censure books that are not for their reading. With me it fares now, as with him whose outward garment hath bin injur'd and ill bedighted; for having no other shift, what helpe but to

thenes' *De Corona* (315 10) in Reiske's *Oratores Attici*." NED notes the use of the word to mean "a refined amenity of speech, a well-turned phrase" as early as 1612.

¹¹¹ Hughes, *Prose Selections*, p. 153, n. 22, states: "Milton was writing within almost a year of the closing of the theatres by Parliament." Actually, Edward Husbands, *An Exact Collection of All Remonstrances, Declarations* (1643), pp. 593-94, prints the order under the date of September 2, 1642. See Davies, *Early Stuarts*, pp. 394-95, and John S. Diekhoff, *Milton on Himself*, pp. xxxii-xxxv.

¹¹² Another military figure of speech; see above, p. 872, n. 11.

¹¹³ Only by the Confuter and one other pamphleteer, according to Parker, *Milton's Contemporary Reputation*, pp. 14-17, 71-72.

¹¹⁴ Liddell and Scott note the appearance of this word twice in Plato's *Republic* (403 C and 403 B): "ignorance of the beautiful, want of taste" Hughes, *Prose Selections*, p. 154, n. 24, defines it "bad taste such as produces bad conduct. Plato uses the word of the propensities to undue physical intimacy and to litigiousness." Columbia, III, 301, prints 'Απειροκαλία alone among the editions consulted. Liddell and Scott list no such word.

turn the inside outwards, especially if the lining be of the same, or, as it is sometimes, much better. So if my name and outward demeanour be not evident enough to defend me, I must make tryall, if the discovery of my inmost thoughts can. Wherein of two purposes both honest, and both sincere, the one perhaps I shall not misse; although I faile to gaine beliefe with others of being such as my perpetuall thoughts shall heere disclose me, I may yet not faile of successe in perswading some, to be such really themselves, as they cannot believe me to be more then what I fain. I had my time Readers, as others have, who have good learning bestow'd upon them, to be sent to those places, where the opinion was it might be soonest attain'd: and as the manner is, was not unstudied in those authors which are most commended; whereof some were grave Orators & Historians; whose matter me thought I lov'd indeed, but as my age then was, so I understood them; ¹¹⁵ others were the smooth Elegiack Poets, ¹¹⁶ whereof the Schooles are not scarce. Whom both for the pleasing sound of their numerous ¹¹⁷ writing, which in imitation I found most easie; and most agreeable to natures part in me, and for their matter which what it is, there be few who know not, I was so allur'd to read, that no recreation came to me better welcome. For that it was then those years with me which are excus'd though they be least severe, I may be sav'd the labour to remember ye. Whence having observ'd them to account it the chiefe glory of their wit, in that they were ablest to judge, to praise, and by that could esteeme themselves worthiest to love those high perfections which under one or other name they took to celebrate, I thought with my selfe by every instinct and presage of nature which is not wont to be false, that what imboldn'd them to this task might with such diligence as they us'd imbolden me, and that what judgement, wit, or elegance was my share, would herein best appeare, and best va-[15]lue it selfe, by how much more wisely, and with more love of vertue I should choose (let rude eares be absent) ¹¹⁸ the object of

¹¹⁵ Alluding probably to I Corinthians 13:11 Hanford, *Handbook*, Appendix B, and more fully in "The Youth of Milton," *Studies in Shakespeare, Milton, and Donne*, discusses the ensuing passage in relation to similar statements in *Church-Government*, Book II, preface, and *Second Defence*.

¹¹⁶ Particularly Ovid, as Tillyard, *Milton*, pp 10-11, points out, among others.

¹¹⁷ "Measured, rhythmic, harmonious, musical." *NED* cites Puttenham's similar use and *Paradise Lost*, V, 150.

¹¹⁸ Hughes, *Prose Selections*, p. 155, n. 26, remarks on the reminiscence of such classical warnings as that of the seer in Virgil's *Aeneid*, VI, 258.

not unlike praises. For albeit these thoughts to some will seeme vertuous and commendable, to others only pardonable, to a third sort perhaps idle, yet the mentioning of them now will end in serious.¹¹⁹ Nor blame it Readers, in those yeares to propose to themselves such a reward, as the noblest dispositions above other things in this life have sometimes preferr'd. Whereof not to be sensible, when good and faire in one person meet, argues both a grosse and shallow judgement, and withall and ungentle, and swainish brest. For by the firme setling of these perswasions I became, to my best memory, so much a proficient, that if I found those authors any where speaking unworthy things of themselves; or unchaste of those names which before they had extoll'd, this effect it wrought with me, from that time forward their art I still applauded, but the men I deplored; and above them all preferr'd the two famous renowners of *Beatrice* and *Laura*¹²⁰ who never write but honour of them to whom they devote their verse, displaying sublime and pure thoughts, without transgression. And long it was not after, when I was confirm'd in this opinion, that he who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things, ought him selfe to bee a true Poem, that is, a composition, and patterne of the best and honourablest things; not presuming to sing high praises of heroick men, or famous Cities, unlesse he have in himselfe the experience and the practice of all that which is praise-worthy.¹²¹ These reasonings, together with a certaine nicenesse of nature, an honest haughtinesse, and self-esteem either of what I was, or what I might be, (which let envie call pride) and lastly that modesty, whereof though not in the Title page yet here I may be excus'd to make some beseeming profession, all these uniting the supply of their naturall aide together, kept me still above those low descents of minde, beneath which he must deject and plunge himself, that can agree to salable and unlawfull prostitutions. Next, (for heare me out now Readers) that I may tell ye whether my younger feet wander'd; I betook me

¹¹⁹ "Seriously." *NED*.

¹²⁰ Dante and Petrarch.

¹²¹ Joel E. Spingarn, *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century, 1605-1650*, I, 250, noted that this is a paraphrase of Strabo, *Geographica*, I, ii, also (I, 221) calling attention to a similar statement in Ben Jonson. Hanford, "The Youth of Milton," p. 123, connects the passage with Prolusion VI, above, p. 266. Diekhoff, *Milton on Himself*, quotes a similar statement from Familiar Letter No. 23 to Henry DeBrass (Columbia, XII, 93). See also above, p. 874, n. 26, and Samuel, *Plato and Milton*, pp. 45-67.

among those lofty Fables and Romances, which recount in solemne canto's the deeds of Knighthood founded by our victorious Kings; & from hence had in renowne over all Christendome.¹²² There I read it in the oath of every Knight, that he should defend to the expence of his [16] best blood, or of his life, if it so befell him, the honour and chastity of Virgin or Matron. From whence even then I learnt what a noble vertue chastity sure must be, to the defence of which so many worthies by such a deare ¹²³ adventure of themselves had sworne. And if I found in the story afterward any of them by word or deed breaking that oath, I judg'd it the same fault of the Poet, as that which is attributed to *Homer*; to have written undecent things of the gods.¹²⁴ Only this my minde gave me that every free and gentle spirit without that oath ought to be borne a Knight, nor needed to expect the guilt spurre,¹²⁵ or the laying of a sword upon his shoulder to stirre him up both by his counsell, and his arme to secure and protect the weaknesse of any attempted chastity. So that even those books which to many others have bin the fuell of wantonnesse and loose living, I cannot thinke how unlesse by divine indulgence prov'd to me so many incitements as you have heard, to the love and stedfast observation of that vertue which abhorrers the society of Bordello's Thus from the Laureat¹²⁶ fraternity of Poets, riper yeares, and the ceaselesse round of study and reading led me to the shady spaces of philosophy, but chiefly to the divine volumes of *Plato*, and his equall *Xenophon*.¹²⁷ Where if I should tell ye what I learnt, of chastity and love, I meane that which is truly so, whose charming cup is only vertue which she bears in her hand to those who are worthy. The rest are cheated with

¹²² Hanford, *Handbook*, p. 370, believes this refers to Spenser; Hughes, *Prose Selections*, p. 156, n. 30, suggests the following as evidence of Milton's study of Arthurian themes: *Paradise Lost*, IX, 27-37, and "Manso," ll. 80-88 *Paradise Lost*, I, 579-87, might also be cited

¹²³ "Hard, severe, heavy, grievous, fell, dire." *NED* Cf "Lycidas," 1 6.

¹²⁴ Bohn, III, 119, n 1, has a long explanation of the passage in *Plato's Republic* (377 E) here alluded to.

¹²⁵ The entire sentence refers back to the fables and romances mentioned earlier. *NED* calls the gilt spur "the distinctive mark of a knight."

¹²⁶ *NED* cites this and explains, "worthy of the Muses' crown"

¹²⁷ Cf. *Animadversions*, above, p. 719, *Church-Government*, above, p 746; and *Of Education* (1644), p 5. See Samuel, *Plato and Milton*, pp 11-12, 23, and chap. 7, where the connection with *Phaedrus* and the *Symposium* of this and the ensuing remarks on love is discussed; see also long note, Bohn, III, 119-21, and Tillyard, *Milton*, Appendix C, pp. 274-83.

a thick intoxicating potion which a certaine Sorceresse ¹²⁸ the abuser of loves name carries about; and how the first and chiefest office of love, begins and ends in the soule, producing those happy twins of her divine generation knowledge and vertue, with such abstracted sublimities as these, it might be worth your listning, Readers, as I may one day hope to have ye in a still time, when there shall be no chiding; not in these noises, the adversary as ye know, barking at the doore; or searching for me at the Burdello's where it may be he has lost himselfe, and raps up without pitty the sage and rheumatick old *Prelatesse* with all her young *Corinthian Laity* ¹²⁹ to inquire for such a one. Last of all not in time, but as perfection is last, that care was ever had of me, with my earliest capacity not to be negligently train'd in the precepts of Christian Religion: This that I have hitherto related, hath bin to shew, that though Christianity had bin but slightly taught me, yet a certain reserv'dnesse of naturall disposition, and morall discipline learnt [17] out of the noblest Philosophy was anough to keep me in disdain of farre lesse incontinences then this of the Burdello. But having had the doctrine of holy Scripture unfolding those chaste and high mysteries with timeliest care infus'd, that *the body is for the Lord and the Lord for the body*, ¹³⁰ thus also I argu'd to my selfe; that if unchastity in a woman whom Saint *Paul* termes the glory of man, be such a scandall and dishonour, then certainly in a man who is both the image and glory of God, it must, though commonly not so thought, be much more deflouring and dishonourable.¹³¹ In that he sins both against his owne body which is the perfeter sex, and his own glory which is in the woman, and that which is worst, against the image and glory of God which is in himselfe. Nor did I slumber over that place expressing such high rewards of ever accompanying the Lambe, with those celestiall songs to others inapprehensible, but not to those who were not defil'd with women,¹³² which doubtlesse meanes

¹²⁸ Probably Circe, cf. *Comus*, ll. 49-52. The "twins" mentioned below, Hughes points out (*Prose Selections*, p. 157, n. 2), are "knowledge and virtue" from Plato (*Symposium*, 209 A). Cf. *Comus*, ll. 1009-10, "Youth and Joy."

¹²⁹ Profligate from the well-known licentious manners of that town. Milton does not forget his opponent even when apparently digressing on his own thoughts.

¹³⁰ I Corinthians 6:13. Tillyard, *Milton*, p. 380, notes that "Milton did not arrogate special powers to lifelong chastity."

¹³¹ I Corinthians 11:7, "Man . . . is the image and glory of God: but the woman is the glory of man" Cf also verses 9 and 11.

¹³² Revelation 14:1-5, cf. II Corinthians 11:2.

fornication: For mariage must not be call'd a defilement.¹³³ Thus large I have purposely bin, that if I have bin justly taxt with this crime, it may come upon me after all this my confession, with a tenne-fold shame. But if I have hitherto deserv'd no such opprobrious word, or suspicion, I may hereby ingage my selfe now openly to the faithfull observation of what I have profest. I go on to shew you the unbridl'd impudence of this loose rayler, who having once begun his race regards not how farre he flyes out beyond all truth & shame; who from the single notice of the animadversions, as he protests, will undertake to tell ye the very cloaths I weare, though he be much mistaken in my wardrobe.¹³⁴ And I like a son of Belial without the hire of *Iesabel*¹³⁵ charges me of *blaspheming God and the King*, as ordnarily as he imagines *me to drink Sack and sweare*,¹³⁶ merely because this was a shred in his common place-book, and seem'd to come off roundly, as if he were some Empirick¹³⁷ of false accusations to try his poysons upon me whether they would work or no. Whom what should I endeavour to refute more, whenas that book which is his only testimony returnes the lye upon him; not giving him the least hint of the author to be either a swearer, or a Sack drinker. And for the readers if they can believe me, principally for those reasons which I have alleg'd, to be of life & purpose neither dishonest, nor unchaste, they will be easily induc't to thinke me sober both of wine, and of word; but if I have bin already successesse in perswading them, [18] all that I can furder say will be but vaine; and it will be better thrift to save two tedious labours, mine of excusing, and theirs of needlesse hearing.

¹³³ I Corinthians 7 1-2; cf. also verses 8-9, 25-28. Many have noted the connection with *Comus*. Hughes, *Prose Selections*, p. 159, n. 38, says the passage refers to Revelation 19, and he points out similar ideas in "Lycidas," 176-77, and "Epitaphium Damonis," ll. 215-19. Diekhoff suggests (*Milton on Himself*, p. 81, n. 14) that the passage shows Milton's regard for marriage, soon before his actual marriage to Mary Powell. Cf. *Paradise Lost*, IV, 299: "Hee for God only, shee for God in him."

¹³⁴ "To the Reader," *Modest Confutation*: "He is new cloathed in Serge, and confined to a Parlour, where he blasphemeth God and the King, as ordinarily as erewhile he drank Sack or swore" *NED* defines serge, "cloth worn by poorer classes."

¹³⁵ See the story of Naboth, I Kings 21.1-15.

¹³⁶ Bohn, III, 123, n. 1, feels the Confuter "was probably better read in Shakespeare than in the Bible" and was thinking of Falstaff.

¹³⁷ "An untrained practitioner in physic or surgery; a quack, pretender, imposter, or charlatan." *NED*.

Proceeding furder I am met with a whole ging¹³⁸ of words and phrases not mine, for he hath maim'd them, and like a slye depraver mangl'd them in this his wicked Limbo,¹³⁹ worse then the ghost of *Deiphobus* appear'd to his friend *Aeneas*.¹⁴⁰ Here I scarce know them, and he that would, let him repaire to the place in that booke where I set them. For certainly this tormenter of semicolons¹⁴¹ is as good at dismembring and slitting sentences, as his grave Fathers the Prelates have bin at stigmatizing & slitting noses.¹⁴² By such handy craft as this what might he not traduce? Only that odour which being his own must needs offend his sense of smelling, since he will needs bestow his foot among us, and not allow us to think he weares a Sock, I shall endeavour it may be offencelesse to other mens eares.¹⁴³ The Remonstrant having to do with grave and reverend men his adversaries, thought it became him to tell them in scorne, that *the Bishops foot had beene in their book and confuted it*, which when I saw him arrogant, to have done that with his heeles that surpast the best consideration of his head, to spurn a confutation among respected men, I question'd not the lawfulness of moving his jollity to bethink him, what odor a Sock would have in such a painfull businesse. And this may have chanc't to touch him more neerly then I was aware; for indeed a Bishops foot that hath all his toes maugre the gout, and a linnen Sock over it, is the aptest embleme of the Prelate himselfe. Who being a pluralist, may under one Surplice which is also linnen, hide foure benefices besides the metropolitan toe, and sends a fouler stench to heaven, then that which this young queasinesse reches at.¹⁴⁴ And this is the immediate reason here why our inrag'd Confuter, that he may be as perfet an hypocrite as *Caiaphas*, ere he be a High Priest,¹⁴⁵

¹³⁸ "Gang, pack, set, train." *NED*, which cites passage.

¹³⁹ Cf. *Paradise Lost*, III, 443 ff., and *Areopagitica* (1644, p. 9).

¹⁴⁰ Deiphobus was slain and mangled at capture of Troy. *Aeneid*, VI, vi.

¹⁴¹ See above, p. 873, n. 20. The preface of *Modest Confutation* (1642) begins thus (p. 1): "It is apologeticall, and well may it be so."

¹⁴² This was one punishment inflicted on Alexander Leighton. Prynne, Bastwick, Burton, and Lilburne suffered other tortures. See above, pp. 34-48.

¹⁴³ See *Animadversions*, above, p. 732. In the passage which follows Milton, as he was to do in *Defence of Himself*, stoops to a low level of abuse. "Weares a Sock" seems to be a pun on the sock as a symbol for comedy.

¹⁴⁴ Pluralist was the name given to a minister holding more than one benefice or living, metropolitan refers to Hall's bishopric. As noted earlier, Milton conceives of his author as youthful, even as an undergraduate; see above, p. 885, n. 92.

¹⁴⁵ Caiaphas was the high priest who condemned Christ; see Matthew 26:3 and 59-68. Milton likens the Confuter to Caiaphas in duplicity even though the Con-

cries out, *horrid blasphemy!* and like a recreant Jew calls for *stones*. I beseech ye friends, ere the brick-bats flye, resolve me and your selves, is it blasphemy, or any whit disagreeing from Christian meeknesse, when as Christ himselfe speaking of unsavory traditions, scruples not to name the Dunghill and the Jakes,¹⁴⁶ for me to answer a slovenly wincer¹⁴⁷ of a confutation, that, if he would needs put his foot to such a sweaty service, the odour of his Sock was like to be neither musk, nor benjamin?¹⁴⁸ Thus did that foolish Monk [19] in a barbarous Declamation accuse Petrarch of blasphemy for dispraising the French wines.¹⁴⁹ But this which followes is plaine bedlam¹⁵⁰ stiffe, this is the *Demoniack legion* indeed, which the Remonstrant feard had been against him, and now he may see is for him.¹⁵¹ *You that love Christ, saith he, and know this miscreant wretch, stone him to death, lest you smart for his impunity.* What thinks the Remonstrant? does he like that such words as these should come out of his shop, out of his Trojan horse? to give the watch word like a *Guisian of Paris*¹⁵² to a mutiny

futer has yet to become a high priest or bishop. See previous note. The remainder of the sentence here refers to "To the Reader," *Modest Confutation*. "Horrid blasphemy! You that love Christ, and know this miscreant wretch, stone him to death, lest your selves smart for his impunity." Milton may have in mind Acts 6 51-59, the stoning of Stephen.

¹⁴⁶ Alluding probably to Luke 14.35; Mark 7 15, 19-20, 21-23; and Matthew 15.17

¹⁴⁷ NED cites passage as a figurative use of the word, "a kicker"

¹⁴⁸ NED says musk comes from male musk deer and is the basis of many perfumes Benjamin is another perfume substance from benzoin

¹⁴⁹ Maud F. Jerrold, *Francesco Petrarcha, Poet and Humanist* (London, 1909), pp. 210-11, explains Petrarch's *Apologia contra Gallum* (EB: *Contra Crusdam Anonymi Galli Calumnias Apologia*) as follows: "At the very end of his life, probably in 1372, he was again involved in controversy, owing to his correspondence with Urban V. A French Cistercian monk, whose name has not been preserved, resenting the part Petrarcha had played in the departure of Urban from Avignon, loaded him and his arguments with contempt, and, in particular, indulged in such abuse of Rome as the poet could not refrain from refuting. His *Apologia contra Gallum* is as bitter as his other invectives, but has the merit of being patriotic rather than personal"

¹⁵⁰ Insane or mad.

¹⁵¹ Hall, *A Defence* (1641), says of the Smectymnuans (p. 1). "Their names, persons, qualities, numbers, I care not to know; But, could they say, *My name is Legion, for we are many*; or were they as many Legions as men, my cause, yea Gods, would bid me to meet them undismaid." Hall is quoting from Mark 5:9, in the account of Christ's driving out the legion of devils, verses 1-13.

¹⁵² NED cites this passage and explains, "a partisan of the Guise faction in France in the 16th century." The Guise party promoted the St. Bartholomew's massacre of Huguenots, August 24, 1572.

or massacre; to proclaim a *Crusada*¹⁵³ against his fellow Christian now in this troublous and divided time of the Kingdome? if he do, I shall say that to be the Remonstrant is no better then to be a Jesuit. And that if he and his accomplices could do as the rebels have done in *Ireland* to the Protestants, they would do in *England* the same to them that would no Prelats.¹⁵⁴ For a more seditious and Butcherly Speech no Cell of *Loyola*¹⁵⁵ could have belch't against one who in all his writing spake not, that any mans skin should be rais'd.¹⁵⁶ And yet this cursing *Shimei* a hurler of stones,¹⁵⁷ as well as a rayler, wants not the face instantly to make as though he *despair'd of victory unlesse a modest defence would get it him*. Did I erre at all, Readers, to foretell ye, when first I met with his title, that the epithet of modest there, was a certaine red portending signe,¹⁵⁸ that he meant ere long to be most tempestuously bold, and shamelesse? Neverthelesse *he dares not say but there may be hid in his nature as much venomous Atheisme and profanation*, as he thinks, *hath broke out at his adversaries lips, but he hath not the soare running upon him*, as he would intimate *I have*.¹⁵⁹ Now trust me not Readers, if I be not already weary of pluming and footing¹⁶⁰ this Seagull, so open he lies to strokes; and never

¹⁵³ "Crusade or holy war against infidels or heretics." *NED*.

¹⁵⁴ News of the Irish Rebellion reached England in November, 1641; see Gardiner, X, 54, 64-70; above, p. 168.

¹⁵⁵ For similar instances of Milton's condemnation of opponents because of their alleged use of arguments originating with the Society of Jesus, cf. *Of Reformation*, above, p. 573, "Schooles of *Loyola* with his Jesuites," and p. 582, "out of the Jesuites Cell."

¹⁵⁶ Variant of "rase": "to scratch, tear, remove by scraping; pull, pluck, slash or to make an incised mark on." *NED*

¹⁵⁷ II Samuel 16 5-7. Another case cited by Neumann, "Milton's Prose Vocabulary," p. 119, of Milton's use of Biblical names "allusively and substantively."

¹⁵⁸ "Marked by blood or fire or by violence." *NED*, citing *Paradise Lost*, II, 174 "His red right hand to plague us?"

¹⁵⁹ "To the Reader," *Modest Confutation* (1642). "This is my adversary; to encounter whom at his own weapons . . . I am much too weak; and must despair of victory, unlesse it may be gotten by the strength of a good cause, and a modest defense of it I dare not say but there may be hid in my nature, as much venomous Atheisme and profanation as hath broken out at his lips; (Every one that is infected with the Sicknesse, hath not the Sores running upon him.)" The allusion to venereal disease here is obvious.

¹⁶⁰ Visiak, *Milton*, p. 847, explains: "Plucking and taking away the claws" *NED* quotes the passage under "Foot," and explains, "Of a bird of prey, especially hawk: to seize or clutch with the talons." The entry comments that "seagull" is equivalent to "gull," frequently a term for a fool.

offers at another, but brings home the dorre¹⁶¹ upon himselfe. For if the sore be running upon me, in all judgement I have scapt the disease, but he who hath as much infection hid in him, as he hath voluntarily confess, and cannot expell it, because hee is dull, for venomous Atheisme were no treasure to be kept within him else, let him take the part hee hath chosen, which must needs follow, to swell and burst with his owne inward venome.

Sect. 1. But marke, Readers, there is a kind of justice observ'd among them that do evill, but this man loves injustice in the very order of his malice. For having all this while abus'd the good [20] name of his adversary with all manner of licence in revenge of his Remonstrant, if they be not both one person, or as I am told, Father and Son,¹ yet after all this he calls for satisfaction, when as he himselfe hath already taken the utmost farding.² *Violence hath been done*, sayes he, *to the person of a holy, and religious Prelat.*³ To which, something in effect to what S. Paul answer'd of *Ananias*,⁴ I answer, *I wist not brethren that he was a holy and religious Prelat*; for evill is written of those who would be Prelats. And finding him thus in disguise without his superscription or *Phylactery*⁵ either of *holy* or *Prelat*, it were no sinne to serve him as *Longchamp* Bishop of *Elie* was serv'd in his disguise at *Dover*.⁶ He hath begun the measure namelesse, and when he pleases we may all appeare as we are. And let him be then what he will, he shall be to me so as I finde him principl'd. For neither must Prelat or Arch-Prelat hope to exempt himselfe from.

¹⁶¹ Visiak, *Milton*, p. 847, defines "bat (in the sense of battledore and shuttlecock)"; Patterson, *Student's Milton*, Glossary, "trick, joke", *NED* quotes passage and defines, "scoff, mockery, 'making game.'"

¹ Milton's statement here is the authority for attributing the *Modest Confutation* to Robert Hall. See Masson, II, 393-98, and Parker, *Milton's Contemporary Reputation*, pp. 266-69.

² Farthing

³ See above, p. 878, n. 48, where *Modest Confutation* is quoted.

⁴ Visiak, *Milton*, p. 847, calls this "a slip for Caiaphas," but the quotation which follows paraphrases Acts 23:5, where Paul is addressing the "high priest Ananias" (see verse 2).

⁵ Alluding to Matthew 23:5, a description of the Pharisees' hypocrisy: "But all their works they do for to be seen of men: they make broad their phylacteries," that is, small leather boxes containing scriptural passages and worn on arm and head during prayers. Cf. "On the New Forcers of Conscience," l. 18, "Clip your Phylacteries, though bauk your Ears."

⁶ According to the *DNB*, William of Longchamp (d. 1197) was hated by the English and arrested, 1191. He was twice caught trying to escape in disguise from Dover, where he was imprisoned.

being reckon'd as one of the vulgar; which is for him only to hope whom true wisdome and the contempt of vulgar opinions exempts, it being taught us in the Psalmes that he who is in honour and understandeth not is as the beasts that perish.⁷ And now first *the manner of handling that cause* which I undertook, he thinks *is suspicious*,⁸ as if the wisest, and the best words were not ever to some or other suspicious. But where is the offence, the disagreement from Christian meeknesse, or the precept of *Solomon* in answering folly?⁹ when the Remonstrant talks of *froth and scum*, I tell him there is none, and bid him *spare his Ladle*:¹⁰ when he brings in the messe with *Keale, Beef, and Brewesse*, what stomack in *England* could forbeare to call for flanks and briskets?¹¹ Capon and whitebroth having been likely sometimes in the same roome with Christ and his Apostles,¹² why does it trouble him that it should be now *in the same leafe*, especially, where the discourse is not continu'd but interrupt?¹³ And let him tell me, is he wont to say grace, doth he not then name holiest names over the steame of costliest superfluities? Does he judge it foolish or dishonest to write that among religious things, which when he talks of religious things he can devoutly chew? is he afraid to name Christ where those things are written in the same leafe whom he feares not to name while the same things are in his mouth? Doth not Christ himselfe teach the highest things by the similitude of *old bottles and patcht cloaths*?¹⁴ Doth he not illustrate best things by things most evill? his own *comming to be as a thiefe in the night*,¹⁵ and the righ-[21]teous mans *wisdome to that of an unjust Steward*?¹⁶ He

⁷ Psalms 49.11-12.

⁸ *Modest Confutation* (1642), p 1: "We must now look to your manner of handling it a suspicious way you think; and so do I." This passage apparently refers to the preface to *Animadversions*, where Milton explains his method.

⁹ Proverbs 26 5: "Answer a fool according to his folly, lest he be wise in his own conceit." Verse 4 offers contradictory advice: "Answer not a fool according to his folly, lest thou also be like unto him."

¹⁰ *Animadversions*, above, p. 672.

¹¹ *Ibid*, above, p. 734 According to *NED*, "keal" is a tub or vat for holding liquor, and "brewess" is a broth or liquor in which beef and vegetables have been boiled.

¹² Alluding to the Last Supper; see Matthew 26:19-26.

¹³ Neumann, "Milton's Prose Vocabulary," cites this as an example of Milton's preference for the "Latin past participle."

¹⁴ Matthew 9.16-17; cf. Mark 2 21-22, Luke 5:36-37.

¹⁵ Matthew 24:42-44; cf. Luke 12.39.

¹⁶ Luke 16:1-8.

might therefore have done better to have kept in *his canting beggars and heathen Altar*¹⁷ to sacrifice his thredbare criticisme of *Bomolochus* to an unseasonable Goddesse fit for him call'd Importunity, and have reserv'd his Greek derivation till he lecture to his fresh men, for here his itching pedantry is but flouted.¹⁸

But to the end that nothing may be omitted which may furder satisfie any consonable man, who notwithstanding what I could explainte before the animadversions, remains yet unsatisfi'd concerning that way of writing which I there defended, but this confuter whom it pinches, utterly disapproves, I shall assay once againe, and perhaps with more successe. If therefore the question were in oratory, whether a vehement vein throwing out indignation, or scorn upon an object that merits it, were among the aptest *Ideas* of speech to be allow'd, it were my work, and that an easie one to make it cleare both by the rules of best rhetoricians, and the famousest examples of the Greek and Roman Orations.¹⁹ But since the Religion of it is disputed, and not the art, I shall make use only of such reasons and autorities, as religion cannot except against. It will be harder to gainsay, then for me to evince that in the teaching of men diversly temper'd different wayes are to be try'd. The Baptist we know was a strict man remarkable for austerity and set order of life.²⁰ Our Saviour who had all gifts in him was Lord to expresse his indoctrinating power in what sort him best seem'd; sometimes by a milde and familiar converse, sometimes with plaine and impartiall home-speaking regardlesse of those whom the auditors might think he should have had in more respect; otherwhiles with bitter and irefull rebukes if not teaching yet

¹⁷ *Modest Confutation* (1642), p 2: "Such language you should scarce hear from the mouths of canting beggars, at an heathen altar, much lesse was it looked for in a treatise of controversall Theologie"

¹⁸ "Criticisme of Bomolochus" refers to the pedantic marginal note in *Modest Confutation* to explain the quotation just given. The "unseasonable Goddesse fit for him call'd Importunity" can be explained as the "base importunity of begging Friars" mentioned in *Animadversions*, above, p. 702, as one of the sources of the prelates' money and lands.

¹⁹ As noted in Bohn, III, 128, n. 1, "ideas" "is here used according to its primitive signification, for form"; cf below, p. 934, and *Church-Government*, above, p. 764. Milton may have in mind Aristotle's dictum "For emotion, if the subject be wanton outrage, your language will be that of anger; if you speak of impiety or filth, use the language of aversion and reluctance even to discuss them" *The Rhetoric of Aristotle*, III, vii; ed Lane Cooper (New York: D. Appleton, 1932), p. 197.

²⁰ See Matthew 3.4, and Mark 1:6.

leaving excuselesse those his wilfull impugners. What was all in him, was divided among many others the teachers of his Church; ²¹ some to be severe and ever of a sad gravity that they may win such, & check sometimes those who be of nature over-confident and jocond; others were sent more cheerefull, free, and still as it were at large, in the midst of an trespassing honesty; that they who are so temper'd may have by whom they might be drawne to salvation, and they who are too scrupulous, and dejected of spirit might be often strengthn'd with wise consolations and revivings: no man being forc't wholly to dissolve that groundwork of nature which God created in him, the sanguine to empty out all his sociable live-[22]linese, the choleric to expell quite the unsinning predominance of his anger; but that each radicall humour and passion wrought upon and corrected as it ought, might be made the proper mould and foundation of every mans peculiar guifts, and vertues. Some also were indu'd with a staid moderation, and soundnesse of argument to teach and convince the rationall and sober-minded; yet not therefore that to be thought the only expedient course of teaching, for in times of opposition when either against new heresies arising, or old corruptions to be reform'd this coole unpassionate mildnesse of positive wisdome is not anough to damp and astonish the proud resistance of carnall, and false Doctors, then (that I may have leave to soare a while as the Poets use) then Zeale whose substance is ethereal, arming in compleat diamond ascends his fiery Chariot drawn with two blazing Meteors figur'd like beasts, but of a higher breed then any the Zodiack yeilds,²² resembling two of those four which *Ezechiel* and *S. John* saw, the one visag'd like a Lion to expresse power, high autority and indignation, the other of countenance like a man to cast derision and scorne upon perverse and fraudulent seducers; with these the invincible warriour Zeale shaking loosely the slack reins drives over the heads of Scarlet Prelats, and such as are insolent to maintaine traditions, brusing their stiffe necks under his flaming wheels. Thus did the true Prophets of old combat with the false; thus Christ himselfe the fountaine of meeknesse found acrimony anough to be still galling and vexing the Prelaticall Phari-

²¹ Bohn, III, 128-29, n. 2, praises the passage which follows for its "power and truth," remarking on the "poetical daring" of the description of Zeale.

²² The description of Zeale's chariot is reminiscent of that of the Son in *Paradise Lost*, VI, 750-59, and is derived from Ezekiel 1, and Revelation 4, especially 4:6, as the mention of "Ezechiel" and "S John" shows,

sees.²³ But ye will say these had immediat warrant from God to be thus bitter, and I say, so much the plainlier is it prov'd, that there may be a sanctifi'd bitterness against the enemies of truth. Yet that ye may not think inspiration only the warrant thereof, but that it is as any other vertue, of morall and generall observation, the example of *Luther* may stand for all: whom God made choice of before others to be of highest eminence and power in reforming the Church; who not of revelation, but of judgement writ so vehemently against the chiefe defenders of old untruths in the Romish Church, that his own friends and favourers were many time offended with the fiercenesse of his spirit; yet he being cited before *Charles* the fifth to answer for his books, and having divided them into three sorts, whereof one was of those which he had sharply written, refus'd though upon deliberation giv'n him to retract or unsay any word there-[23]in; as we may reade in *Sleiden*.²⁴ Yea he defends his eagernesse, as being *of an ardent spirit, and one who could not write a dull stile*: and affirm'd *hee thought it Gods will to have the inventions of men thus laid open, seeing that matters quietly handled, were quickly forgot*. And herewithall how usefull and available God had made this tart rhetorick in the Churches cause, he often found by his owne experience. For when he betook himselfe to lenity and moderation, as they call it, he reapt nothing but contempt both from *Cajetan* and *Erasmus*, from *Cocleus*, from *Ecchius*²⁵ and others, insomuch that blaming his friends who had so counsel'd him, he resolv'd never to runne into the like error; if at other times he seeme to excuse his vehemence, as more then what was meet, I have not examin'd through his works to know how farre he gave way to his owne fervent minde; it shall suffice me to looke to mine own. And this I shall easily averre though it may seeme a hard saying, that the Spirit of God who is purity it selfe, when he would reprove any fault severely, or but relate things done or said with indignation by others, abstains not from some words not civill at other

²³ Matthew 23; Mark 12.38-40; Luke 14:31-34.

²⁴ See *CPB*, above, p. 373, and Hanford, "Chronology," pp. 268, 271, 306-07.

²⁵ Cajetan, Tommaso de Vio Gaetani, (1469-1534), Dominican cardinal, philosopher, theologian, and exegete; attempted to prevent Luther's defection from the church (1519). Erasmus, Desiderius (ca. 1466-1536), Dutch humanist, friend and later opponent of Luther. Cocleus, or Cochleus, Johann (properly Dobeneck) (1479-1552), humanist and Catholic controversialist, opponent of Luther, 1520. Ecchius (Eck or Eckius), Johan, (1486-1543), theologian and principal adversary of Luther. *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

times to be spok'n. Omitting that place in Numbers at the killing of *Zimri* and *Cosbi* done by *Phineas* in the height of zeal, related as the Rabbines expound, not without an obscene word,²⁶ we may finde in Deuteronomy and three of the Prophets, where God denouncing bitterly the punishments of Idolaters, tells them in a terme immodest to be utter'd in coole blood, that their wives shall be defil'd openly.²⁷ But these, they will say were honest words in that age when they were spok'n. Which is more then any Rabbin can prove, and certainly had God been so minded, he could have pickt such words, as should never have come into abuse. What will they say to this. *David* going against *Nabal*, in the very same breath when he had but just before nam'd the *name of God*, he vowes not to leave any alive of *Nabals house* that *pisseth against the wall*.²⁸ But this was unadvisedly spoke, you will answer, and set downe to aggravate his infirmity. Turne then to the first of Kings where God himselfe uses the phrase; *I will cut off from Iereboam him that pisseth against the wall*.²⁹ Which had it beene an unseemely speech in the heat of an earnest expression, then we must conclude that *Ionathan, or Onkelos the Targumists* were of cleaner language then he that made the tongue; for they render it as briefly, *I will cut off all who are at yeares of discretion*, that is to say so much discretion as [24] to hide nakednesse.³⁰ Whereas God who is the author both of purity and eloquence, chose this phrase as fittest in that vehement character wherein he spake. Otherwise that plaine word might have easily bin forborne. Which the *Masoreths* and Rabbinicall *Scholiasts* not well attending, have often us'd to blurre the margent with *Keri*,³¹ instead of *Ketiv*,³² and gave us this insuls rule out of their *Talmud*, *That all words which in the Law are writ ob-*

²⁶ Numbers 25:8 The references here to "Rabbines" have been used by Harris Fletcher (*Milton's Rabbinical Readings* [Urbana. University of Illinois, 1930]) to argue Milton's reading of the Buxtorf Bible. This has been questioned by George N. Conklin, *Biblical Criticism and Heresy in Milton* (New York: King's Crown Press, 1949), pp. 52-66, who concludes, "The usefulness or relevance of the whole corpus of medieval rabbinic exegesis to Milton studies must be considered very doubtful indeed."

²⁷ Deuteronomy 28:30; Isaiah 13:16; Jeremiah 3:2; and Zechariah 14:2. See also Conklin, *Biblical Criticism*, pp. 58-59; Conklin is wrong, however, in citing Isaiah 13:15.

²⁸ I Samuel 25:22; cf. verse 34.

²⁹ I Kings 14:10.

³⁰ See Conklin, *Biblical Criticism*, pp. 60-63, discussing the entire passage.

³¹ "Read" in a marginal gloss.

³² "So written." *Insuls*: stupid, insipid, tasteless.

scenely, must be chang'd to more civill words. Fools who would teach men to read³³ more decently then God thought good to write. And thus I take it to be manifest, that indignation against men and their actions notoriously bad, hath leave and autority oft times to utter such words and phrases as in common talke were not so mannerly to use. That ye may know, not only as the Historian speaks, *that all those things for which men plough, build, or saile, obey vertue*,³⁴ but that all words and whatsoever may be spoken shall at some time in an un-wonted manner wait upon her purposes.

Now that the confutant may also know as he desires, what force of teaching there is sometimes in laughter, I shall returne him in short, that laughter being one way of answering *A Foole according to his folly*, teaches two sorts of persons, first the Foole himselfe *not to be wise in his own conceit*; as *Salomon affirms*,³⁵ which is certainly a great document, to make an unwise man know himselfe. Next, it teaches the hearers, in as much as scorne is one of those punishments which belong to men carnally wise, which is oft in Scripture declar'd; ³⁶ for when such are punisht *the simple are thereby made wise*, if *Salomons rule be true*.³⁷ And I would ask, to what end *Elijah* mockt the false Prophets?³⁸ was it to shew his wit, or to fulfill his humour? doubtlesse we cannot imagine that great servant of God had any other end in all which he there did, but to teach and instruct the poore mis-ledde people. And we may frequently reade, that many of the Martyrs in the midst of their troubles, were not sparing to deride and scoffe their superstitious persecutors. Now may the confutant advise againe with Sir *Francis Bacon* whether *Elijah* and the Martyrs did well to turne religion into a Comedy, or Satir; *to rip up the wounds of Idolatry and Superstition with a laughing countenance*.³⁹ So that for pious gravity his author here is matcht and overmatcht, and for wit and morality in one that followes. [25]

³³ Milton's erratum on the final page of the pamphlet reads: "Pag. 25. lin. 9. for speak *correct it read*." The word "speak" is therefore in this text changed to "read."

³⁴ Sallust in *Catilina*, II, 7: "Quae homines arant, navigant, aedificant, virtuti omnia parent" See *Harper's Latin Dictionary*: "aro."

³⁵ See above, p. 898, n 9, where Proverbs 26 5 is also referred to, *cf.* Romans 11 25, 12 16.

³⁶ Possibly alluding to Romans 8.6-8.

³⁷ Proverbs 21:11

³⁸ I Kings 18:27.

³⁹ See above, p 882, n. 73.

—laughing to teach the truth

What hinders? as some teachers give to Boyes

Junkets and knacks, that they may learne apace.

Thus *Flaccus* in his first Satir,⁴⁰ and in his tenth

—Jesting decides great things

Stronglier, and better oft then earnest can.

I could urge the same out of *Cicero*, and *Seneca*, but he may content him with this. And hence forward, if he can learn, may know as well what are the bounds, and objects of laughter and vehement reprove, as he hath knowne hitherto how to deserve them both. But lest some may haply think, or thus expostulat with me after all this debatement, who made you the busie Almoner to deale about this dole⁴¹ of laughter and reprehension which no man thanks your bounty for? To the urbanity of that man I shold answer much after this sort? That I, friend objecter, having read of heathen Philosophers, some to have taught, that whosoever would but use his eare to listen, might heare the voice of his guiding *Genius* ever before him, calling and as it were pointing to that way which is his part to follow;⁴² others, as the Stoicks, to account reason, which they call the *Hege-monicon*, to be the common *Mercury* conducting without error those that give themselves obediently to be led accordingly,⁴³ having read this, I could not esteeme so poorly of the faith which I professe, that God had left nothing to those who had forsaken all other doctrines for his, to be an inward witnesse, and warrant of what they have to do, as that they should need to measure themselves by other mens meas-

⁴⁰ Horace, *Satires*, I, 24. Columbia, XVIII, 605, lists these lines, along with those following (X, 24) and the later lines from Sophocles, *Electra*, in the "Conspectus of Original and Translated Verse Passages in Milton's Prose Works." Apparently the translations are original.

⁴¹ "Distribution of gifts, especially of food or money given in charity." *NED*. An almoner is a church official charged with such almsgiving.

⁴² *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1949) on "genius": "In classical and pre-classical Latin the attendant Spirit of every man, a sort of guardian angel, whose activities were apparently directed towards fostering natural desires and their satisfaction" See Samuel, *Plato and Milton*, p. 96, where this passage is labeled "Platonic" without comment.

⁴³ Bohn, III, 133, n. 1, quotes from Nemesius, *De Anima*. Liddell & Scott's *Greek Lexicon*, under "Hegemonicon," explains, "the authoritative part of the soul (reason)," citing "Zeno ap. Diogenes Laertius 7.159." Zeno (335-263 B.C.) was the founder of the Stoic school. Milton later (below, p. 909) speaks of the Confuter's "stoick apathy." Cf. *Comus*, l. 706, "those budge doctors of the Stoick Furr" (Comus speaking).

ures how to give scope, or limit to their proper actions; ⁴⁴ for that were to make us the most at a stand, the most uncertaine and accidentall wanderers in our doings, of all religions in the world. So that the question ere while mov'd who he is that spends thus the benevolence of laughter and reprooфе so liberally upon such men as the Prelats, may returne with a more just demand, who he is not of place ⁴⁵ and knowledge never so mean, under whose contempt and jerk these men are not deservedly falne? neither can religion receive any wound by disgrace thrown upon the Prelats, since religion and they surely were never in such amity. They rather are the men who have wounded religion, and their stripes ⁴⁶ must heale her. I might also tell them, what *Electra* in *Sophocles*,⁴⁷ a wise Virgin answer'd her wicked Mother who thought her selfe too violently reprov'd by her the daughter. [26]

*Tis you that say it, not I, you do the deeds,
And your ungodly deeds finde me the words.*

If therefore the Remonstrant complaine of libels,⁴⁸ it is because he feels them to be right aim'd. For I ask againe as before in the animadversions,⁴⁹ how long is it since he hath dis-relisht libels? we never heard the least mutter of his voice against them while they flew abroad without controul or check defaming the Scots and Puritans. And yet he can remember of none but *Lysimachus Nicanor*, and *that he mislik't and censur'd*.⁵⁰ No more but of one can the Remonstrant remember? What if I put him in minde of one more? What if of one more whereof the Remonstrant in many likelyhoods may be thought the author? Did he never see a Pamphlet intitl'd after his own fashion, *A survey of that foolish, seditious, scandalous, profane libell the*

⁴⁴ Milton's rejection of all but his own conscience.

⁴⁵ Modern usage would omit the "not."

⁴⁶ Strokes or lashes with whip or scourge. *NED*.

⁴⁷ The two lines below are from *Electra*, l. 624; see above, p. 904, n 40.

⁴⁸ Hall's address to the king in *A Defence* (1641) describes the *Humble Remonstrance* (1640) as "made to the High Court of Parliament; bemoaning the lawlesse frequence of scandalous Libels," a reference to his earlier pamphlet's opening statement (p. 1). "Lest the world should think the Presse had of late forgot to speake any language other then Libellous, this honest paper hath broken through the throng."

⁴⁹ See *Animadversions*, above, p. 667.

⁵⁰ *Modest Confutation* (1642), p 3. "That *Lysimachus Nicanor*, which you instance in, (is but one, and truly to my remembrance I have seen no more; one of theirs to an hundred of yours is oddes:) I disliked and censured as much as any that I have read."

*Protestation protested?*⁵¹ The child doth not more expresly refigure the visage of his Father, then that book resembles the stile of the Remonstrant, in those idioms of speech, wherein he seemes most to delight: and in the seventeenth Page three lines together taken out of the Remonstrance word for word, not as a citation, but as an author borrowes from himselfe.⁵² Who ever it be, he may as justly be said to have libell'd, as he against whom he writes: there ye shall finde another man then here is made shew of, there he bites as fast as this whines. *Vinegar in the inke* is there *the antidote of Vipers. Laughing* in a religious controversie is there *a thrifty physick to expell his melancholy.*⁵³ In the meane time the testimony of Sir *Francis Bacon* was not misalledg'd, complaining that libels on the Bishops part were utter'd openly;⁵⁴ and if he hop't the Prelats *had no intelligence with the libellours*, he delivers it but as his favourable opinion.⁵⁵ But had

⁵¹ Attributed to Hall by Theodore C. Pease, *The Leveller Movement* (Washington and London, 1916), p. 71, *McAlpin Catalogue*, and Wolfe, *Milton in the Puritan Revolution*, p. 54; but not included in the 1863 edition of Hall's *Works*. Milton's belief that Hall wrote the pamphlet may rest on the following statement from *A Survey* (1641), p. 30: "You mention Dr. Hall, and his learned paines: out upon thee for a fool, and a babler! The workes of that reverend, painfull, and judicious bishop, shall be entertained by the posterity, with approbation and thankfulnessse, when the better times shal hisse thee and thy associats out of the Church, the quintessence of you al do come short to the meane croatchet of his learning, judgement, integrity & eloquence."

⁵² *Humble Remonstrance* (1640, pp. 37-38): "What a death it is, to think of the sport, and advantage these watchfull enemies will be sure to make of our sins, and shame? What exprobations, what triumphs of theirs, will hence ensue?" *A Survey* (1641), p. 17: "Meantime what a death it is to think of the sport and advantage our watchfull enemies will be sure to make of our self-confession, that we have the same publicle worship which in them we doe condemne as heresie, as idolatrie? what exprobations, what triumph of theirs will hence ensue?" Milton's charge here that Hall himself wrote *Modest Confutation* is hardly proved by this evidence, and elsewhere he himself considers his opponent as someone close to Hall, even his son.

⁵³ The italicized passages come from *A Survey* (1641), pp. 3, 32.

⁵⁴ *Animadversions*, above, p. 668, referred to Bacon's statement (*A Wise and Moderate Discourse*, 1641, pp. 10-11): "Nevertheless I note, there is not an indifferent hand carried towards these pamphlets as they deserve. For the one sort flieh in darknesse, and the other is uttered openly"; but ignores the sentence following, "Wherein I might advise that side [i.e., the bishops] out of a wise writer, who hath set it downe, that *punitis ingenii gliscit auctoritas*." ("Reputation increases with the quality of the punishment.") *Modest Confutation* (1642), pp. 3-4, quotes two passages from the same pamphlet in favor of the bishops. Milton is right in denying misallegation; but Bacon is not urging freedom for either side.

⁵⁵ Refers to the second of the Bacon quotations just mentioned: "I hope as-

he contradicted himselfe, how could I assoil ⁵⁶ him here, more then a little before, where I know not how by entangling himselfe, he leaves an aspersion upon *Job*, which by any else I never heard laid to his charge. For having affirm'd that *there is no greater confusion then the confounding of jest and earnest*, presently he brings the example of *Job glancing at conceits of mirth, when he sate among the people with the gravity of a Judge upon him*.⁵⁷ If jest and earnest be such a confusion, then were the people much wiser then *Job*, for *he smil'd, and they believ'd him not*. To defend Libels, which is that whereof I am next accus'd, was farre from my purpose.⁵⁸ I had not so little share in good name, as to give another that advantage against [27] my selfe. The summe of what I said, was that a more free permission of writing at some times might be profitable, in such a question especially wherein the Magistrates are not fully resolv'd; and both sides have equall liberty to write, as now they have.⁵⁹ Not as when the Prelats bore sway, in whose time the bookes of some men were confuted, when they who should have answer'd were in close prison, deny'd the use of pen or paper. And the *Divine right of Episcopacy*⁶⁰ was then valiantly asserted, when he who would have bin respondent, must have bethought himselfe withall how he could refute the *Clink*, or the *Gate-house*.⁶¹ If now therefore they be persu'd with bad words, who persecuted others with bad deeds, it is a way to lessen tumult

suredly that my Lords of the Clergie have no intelligence with these other Libel-lours, but do altogether disallow, that their dealing should be thus defended”

⁵⁶ “Acquit” NED. Milton can't dodge the fact that his quotation is wrested from the context.

⁵⁷ What Bacon said about *Job* follows (*A Wise and Moderate Discourse*, 1641, p 8): “*Job* speaking of the majesty and gravity of a Judge in himselfe, saith, *If I did smile, they believ'd me not: as if he should have said. If I diverted or glanced with conceit of mirth, yet men's mindes were so possessed with a reverence of the action in hand, as they could not receive it.*” Milton's attack on Bacon here is by putting together two statements that are two paragraphs apart in Bacon's writing; thus the “aspersion” is hardly justifiable.

⁵⁸ *Modest Confutation* (1642), Section 2, p. 3, begins, “*Not to tarry longer in your Preface; the intent of it was, as of other passages in your book, rather to maintain and defend libelling, than to give any pretended satisfaction.*” Milton's *Apology* has no Section 2 following Section 1.

⁵⁹ *Animadversions*, above, p. 669.

⁶⁰ Hall's pamphlet *Episcopacie by Divine Right* appeared in 1640; *Works* (1863), IX, 142–281.

⁶¹ Visiak, *Milton*, p. 847, explains that the *Clink* was a prison in Clink Street, Southwark, and the *Gate-House* another in Westminster Davies, *Early Stuarts*, p. 73, and Gardiner, IX, 236, recount the imprisonment of Puritan writers.

rather then to encrease it; as anger thus freely vented spends it selfe, ere it break out into action, though *Machiavell* whom he cites, or any *Machiavillian* Priest think the contrary.⁶²

Sect. 3. Now Readers I bring ye to his third Section; wherein very cautiously, and no more then needs, lest I should take him for some Chaplaine at hand, some Squire of the body to his Prelat, one that serves not at the Altar only, but at the Court cup board, he will bestow on us a pretty modell of himselfe; and sobs me out halfe a dozen tizicall¹ mottoes where ever he had them, hopping short in the measure of convulsion fits; in which labour the agony of his wit, having scapt narrowly, instead of well siz'd periods, he greets us with a quantity of thum-ring posies. *He has a fortune therefore good, because he is content with it.*² This is a piece of sapience not worth the brain of a fruit-trencher; ³ as if content were the measure of what is good or bad in the guift of fortune. For by this rule a bad man may have a good fortune, because he may be oft times content with it for many reasons which have no affinity with vertue, as love of ease, want of spirit to use more, and the like. *And therefore content, he sayes, because it neither goes before, nor comes behinde his merit.* Belike then if his fortune should go before his merit, he would not be content, but resigne, if we believe him, which I do the lesse, because he implyes that if it came behinde his merit, he would be content as little. Whereas if

⁶² *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 5, has a marginal note referring to "Mach discourses upon Livie, lib. 1 c. 8." Though apparently derogating Machiavelli here, Milton "had studied Machiavelli, and with admiration, in spite of the divergence between their creeds," according to Hanford, *Handbook*, p. 86; see also pp. 131, 241, 273. There are nineteen citations from Machiavelli in *CPB*.

¹ From "phthisic," asthma; as in an earlier passage (see above, p. 873, n. 20), Milton is deriding the style of the Confuter.

² This section is occupied with attacking the following quotation from the *Modest Confutation* (1642), p 6: "Only first let me satisfie you concerning my engagements and dependencie, which perhaps you may possibly think might have wrought me to this vindication. I am free, as you, or any true subject may or need be: I have a fortune therefore good, because I am content with it: and therefore content with it, because it neither goes before, nor comes behind my merit. God hath given me a soul, eager in the search of truth; and affections so equally tempered, that they neither too hastily adhere to the truth, before it be fully examined, nor too lazily afterward. Such excesse fills the world with furious, hot-brained Hereticks, Schismaticks, &c. the defect with cold speculative Atheists. I have alwayes resolved that neither person nor cause shall improper me, further than they are good; and so far it is my duty to give evidence." This passage constitutes the bulk of the *Modest Confutation's* Section 3, and Milton quotes nearly all of it and attacks it piecemeal.

³ "A wooden tray, formerly used as a dessert-plate." *NED* cites this passage.

a wise mans content should depend upon such a *Therefore*, because his fortune came not behinde his merit, how many wise men could have content in this world? In his next pithy symbol ⁴ I dare not board him, for he passes all the *seven wise Masters of Greece* ⁵ attributing to himselfe that which on my life [28] *Salomon* durst not; *to have affections so equally temper'd, that they neither too hastily adhere to the truth, before it be fully examin'd, nor too lazily afterward.* Which unlesse he only were exempted out of the corrupt masse of *Adam*, borne without sinne originall, and living without actuall, is impossible.⁶ Had *Salomon* (for it behoves me to instance in the wisest, dealing with such a transcendent Sage as this) had *Salomon* affections so equally temper'd, as *not adhering too lazily to the truth*, when God warn'd him of his halting in idolatry? ⁷ do we reade that he repented hastily? did not his affections lead him hastily from an examin'd truth, how much more would they lead him slowly to it? Yet this man beyond a *Stoick apathy* sees truth as in a rapture,⁸ and cleaves to it. Not as through the dim glasse of his affections which in this frail mansion of flesh are every unequally temper'd, pushing forward to error, and keeping back from truth oft times the best of men.⁹ But how farre this boaster is from knowing himselfe, let his *Preface* speake.¹⁰ Something I thought it was that made him so quick-sighted to gather such strange things out of the Animadversions, whereof the least conception could not be drawne from thence, of *Suburb sinks*, sometimes *out of wit and cloaths*, sometimes *in new Serge, drinking Sack, and swearing*, now I know it was this equall temper of his affections that gave him to see clearer then any fenell rub'd Serpent.¹¹ Lastly, he has

⁴ "A brief or sententious statement or motto, a maxim." *NED*.

⁵ The Seven Sages of Greece are associated with the period 620–550 B.C. and usually include Cleobulus, Periander, Pittacus, Bias, Thales, Chilon, and Solon of Athens. *Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities*, ed. Harry T. Peck (New York, 1897).

⁶ Probably alluding to I Corinthians 15, especially verses 39–46.

⁷ I Kings 11:1–11.

⁸ Perhaps an allusion to Hall's professed following of the Stoicks; see *Heaven upon Earth*, ed. Kirk, pp. 19–51, and Philip A. Smith, "Bishop Hall; 'Our English Seneca,'" *PMLA*, LXIII (1948), 1191–1204.

⁹ "Dim glasse" may allude to I Corinthians 13:2, "For now we see through a glass, darkly . . ." Cf. *Church-Government*, above, p. 758.

¹⁰ There follow further allusions to the *Modest Confutation* (1642), pp. 11–13, already quoted above, p. 908, n. 2.

¹¹ Visiak, *Milton*, p. 847, explains: "According to Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 8, 99), snakes shed their winter-begrimed skins, and shine like spring, by means of fennel

resolv'd that neither person, nor cause shall improper him. I may mistake his meaning, for the word ye heare is *improper*. But whether if not a person, yet a good Personage, or Impropration ¹² bought out for him would not *improper* him, because there may be a quirk in the word, I leave it for a Canonist to resolve.

Sect. 4. And thus ends this Section, or rather dissection of himselfe, short ye will say both in breath, and extent, as in our own praises it ought to be, unlesse wherein a good name hath bin wrongfully attainted.¹ Right, but if ye looke at what he ascribes to himselfe, *that temper of his affections* which cannot any where be but in Paradise, all the judicious *Panegyricks* in any language extant are not halfe so prolix. And that well appears in his next removall. For what with putting his fancy to the tiptoe in this description of himselfe, and what with adventuring presently to stand upon his own legs without the crutches of his marget, which is the sluice most commonly, that feeds the drouth of his text,² he comes so lazily on in a Similie, with [29] his *arme full of weeds*, and demeans himselfe in the dull expression so like a dough kneaded thing, that he has not spirit anough left him so farre to look to his *Syntaxis*, as to avoide nonsense.³ For it

juice. Prescribed for the eyes by old medical writers . . ." Ebenezer C. Brewer, *Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* (rev. ed., Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1931), explains that fennel was thought to be an inflammatory herb, citing Falstaff on Poins (*Henry IV*, Part II, II, iv). "He . . . eats conger and fennel" Fennel, besides being able to clear the sight, was said to be the favorite food of serpents, with the juice of which they restore their sight when dim.

¹² *NED* explains "improper": "To annex (an ecclesiastical benefice) to a corporation or person as . . . private property." "Personage" is here a pun for parsonage, or benefice. Neumann, "Milton's Prose Vocabulary," comments (p. 119) that Milton here sneers at syntactical freedom, despite his own frequent liberties.

¹ Milton seemingly has to qualify the statement in view of his long praise of himself, above, pp. 882-93, which exceeded the Confuter's brief Section 3, pp. 5-6.

² *Modest Confutation* (1642) Section 3, has no marginal notes, but elsewhere they are very numerous; below, p. 921, Milton again derides them.

³ The following passage from the *Modest Confutation* (1642) is the source of Milton's ensuing quotations (p. 6): "He that shall weed a field of corn, bind the weeds up in sheaves, and present them at once to the eye of a stranger, that is ignorant how much good wheat the field bears, beside those weeds, may very well be deceived in censuring that field; especially if he which presents them hath put into the heap such weeds as came from elsewhere. Thus it fares with men, when the evill actions of the best are picked and culled out from their virtues, and all presented in grosse together to the eye or ear of him who is otherwise ignorant of the persons whose vices or faults they are; what monsters do they seem! This and more have you done to our Prelate: This, in pinning upon his sleeve the faults of others: More, in that those which you pretend faults are indeed virtues."

must be understood there that *the stranger*, and not *he who brings the bundle* would be *deceav'd in censuring the field*, which this hip-shot⁴ *Grammariān* cannot set into right frame of construction, neither here in the similitude, nor in the following *reddition*⁵ thereof, which being to this purpose, that *the faults of the best pickt out, and presented in grosse, seeme monstrous, this saith he, you have done, in pinning on his sleeve the faults of others*; as if to pick out his owne faults, and to pin the faults of others upon him, were to do the same thing. To answer therefore how I have cull'd out the evill actions of the Remonstrant from his vertues, I am acquitted by the dexterity and conveiance⁶ of his nonsense, loosing⁷ that for which he brought his parable. But what of other mens faults I have pinn'd upon his sleeve, let him shew. For whether he were the man who term'd the Martyrs *Foxian* confessors,⁸ it matters not; he that shall step up before others to defend a Church-government, which wants almost no circumstance, but only a name to be a plaine Popedome, a government which changes the fatherly and everteaching discipline of Christ into that Lordly and uninstructing jurisdiction which properly makes the Pope Antichrist, makes himselfe an accessory to all the evill committed by those, who are arm'd to do mischiefe by that undue government; which they by their wicked deeds, do with a kinde of passive and unwitting obedience to God, destroy. But he by plausible words and traditions against the Scripture obstinately seeks to maintaine. They by their owne wickednesse ruining their owne unjust autority make roome for good to succeed. But he by a shew of good upholding the evill which in them undoes it selfe, hinders the good which they by accident let in. Their manifest crimes serve to bring forth an ensuing good and hasten a remedy against themselves, and his seeming good tends to reinforce their selfe-punishing crimes and his owne, by doing his best to delay all redresse.⁹ Shall not all the mischiefe which other men do, be layd to his charge, if they doe it by that unchurchlike power which he defends? Christ saith, *he that is not with me is against me, and he that*

⁴ "Lame, clumsy, disabled, out of joint." *NED*, citing this use.

⁵ "Application of a comparison." *NED*. Refers to the part of the quotation given above, p. 910, n. 3, beginning, "Thus it fares."

⁶ "Cunning management or contrivance, underhand dealing" *NED*

⁷ Losing or letting go.

⁸ *Anmadversions*, above, p. 678. *Modest Confutation* (1642) pp. 6-7, denies the charge.

⁹ A sentence no less complex than the one Milton has just objected to; the following sentence seems to explain his meaning.

*gathers not with me scatters.*¹⁰ In what degree of enmity to Christ shall wee place that man then, who so is with him, as that it makes more [30] against him, and so gathers with him, that it scatters more from him? shall it availe that man to say he honours the Martyrs memory and treads in their steps? No; the Pharisees confess as much of the holy Prophets.¹¹ Let him and such as he when they are in their best actions even at their prayers looke to heare that which the Pharisees heard from *John the Baptist* when they least expected, when they rather lookt for praise from him. *Generation of Vipers who hath warn'd ye to flee from the wrath to come?*¹² Now that ye have started back from the purity of Scripture which is the only rule of reformation, to the old vomit of your traditions, now that ye have either troubl'd or leven'd¹³ the people of God, and the doctrine of the Gospell with scandalous ceremonies and masse-borrow'd Liturgies,¹⁴ doe ye turne the use of that truth which ye professe, to countenance that falsehood which ye gaine by? We also reverence the Martyrs but relye only upon the Scriptures. And why we ought not to relye upon the Martyrs I shall be content with such reasons as my confuter himselfe affords me; who is I must needs say for him in that point as officious¹⁵ an adversary as I would wish to any man. For *first, saith he, there may be a Martyr in a wrong cause, and as courageous in suffering as the best: sometimes in a good cause with a forward ambition displeasing to God. Otherwhiles they that story of them out of blind zeale, or malice may write many things of them untruly.*¹⁶ If this be so, as ye heare his own confession, with what safety can the Remonstrant rely upon the Martyrs as *Patrons of his cause*,¹⁷ when as any of those who are alleg'd for the approvers of our Liturgy or Prelaty might have bin though not in a wrong cause Martyrs, yet whether not vainly ambitious of that honour, or whether not misreported, or misunderstood, in those their opinions God only knowes. The testimony of what we believe in religion must be such as the con-

¹⁰ Matthew 12:30 and Luke 11:22.

¹¹ See Matthew 23:29-31; cf. Luke 11:47-50.

¹² Matthew 3:7, Luke 3:7; cf. Matthew 12:34, 23:33.

¹³ "To debase or corrupt by admixture." *NED*. Cf. Matthew 16:6: "Take heed and beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees."

¹⁴ See below, pp. 935-43, for Milton's extended discussion of the liturgy.

¹⁵ "Attentive, obliging, kind." *NED*; note Milton's irony.

¹⁶ Milton is summarizing a long passage on p. 7 of *Modest Confutation* (1642).

¹⁷ The phrase refers to Hall, *A Short Answer*, 1641, pp. 53-54; *Works*, 1863, IX, 420-21; cf. *Humble Remonstrance* (1640, p. 17; *Works*, 1863, IX, 287).

science may rest on to be infallible, and incorruptible, which is only the word of God.¹⁸

Sect. 5. His fifth Section finds it selfe agriev'd that the Remonstrant should be taxt with the illegall proceedings of the high Commission,¹ and oath *Ex officio*;² And first *whether they were illegall or no, tis more then he knowes.*³ See this malevolent Fox? that tyranny which the whole Kingdome cry'd out against as stung with Adders, and Scorpions,⁴ that tyranny which the Parlament in compassion of the Church and Commonwealth hath dissolv'd, and fetch't up by the roots, for which it hath receav'd [31] the publick thanks and blessings of thousands;⁵ this obscure thorn-eater of malice and detraction, as well as of *Quodlibets* and *Sophisms*⁶ knowes not whether it were illegall or not. Evill, evill, would be your reward ye worthies of the Parlament, if this Sophister and his accomplices had the censuring, or the sounding forth of your labours. And that the Remonstrant cannot wash his hands of all the cruelties exercis'd by the Prelats, is past doubting. They scourg'd the confessors of the Gospell, and he held the scourgers garments.⁷ They executed their rage, and he, if he did nothing else, defended the government with the oath that did it, and the ceremonies

¹⁸ This final sentence contains the essence of Milton's rejection of Episcopacy.

¹ *Anumadversions*, above, p. 674. An ecclesiastical court dealing in heresy, schism, recusancy, etc.; see Gardiner, I, 34-36, and Davies, *Early Stuarts*, pp. 76-77.

² "It was an oath tendered to an accused person, that he would give true answers to such questions as might be put to him. He was forced not only to accuse himself, but he was liable to bring into trouble his friends." Gardiner, I, 36. Abolished with the High Commission, July 5, 1641. *Ibid*, IX, 404, and Davies, *Early Stuarts*, p. 101. See below, p. 999.

³ *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 8: "If that Court hath been illegall, either in the constitution of it, or in its proceedings, it is more than I know: but if so, the Remonstrant is as guiltlesse of such illegalities, as I am ignorant."

⁴ Possibly alluding to Deuteronomy 8.15.

⁵ See above, p. 908, n. 2.

⁶ *Quodlibets* are scholastic arguments usually on theology; a sophism is "a specious but fallacious argument, either used deliberately . . . to deceive . . . or employed as a means of displaying ingenuity." *NED*, which offers no help for "thorn eater" Matthew 13:7 does mention the uselessness of thorns, but the meaning may be simply one who can swallow sharp things, such as malice and detraction. That is, one who has the "throat" for it, as we say a person has the "stomach" for something repugnant.

⁷ There seems to be an imperfectly worked out parallel with Pilate in this passage (Matthew 27:24-27). There is a reference to the washing of hands. The Remonstrant, like Pilate, stood by and gave passive help. Holding the scourgers' garments may be figurative, or Milton may have thought of the soldiers and that they gave their gear to someone while they scourged Jesus.

which were the cause of it: does he think to be counted guiltlesse?

Sect. 6. In the following Section I must foretell ye, Readers, the doings will be rough and dangerous, the bating of a *Satir*. And if the work seeme more triviall or boistrous then for this discourse, let the Remonstrant thank the folly of this confuter, who could not let a private word passe, but he must make all this blaze of it. I had said that because the Remonstrant was so much offended with those who were tart against the Prelats, sure he lov'd toothlesse Satirs, which I took were as improper as a toothed Sleekstone.¹ This Champion from behind the Arras cries out² that those toothlesse Satyrs were of the Remonstrants making; and armes himselfe here tooth and naile and horne, to boot,³ to supply the want of teeth, or rather of gumms in the Satirs. And for an onset tels me that the simily of a Sleekstone *shewes I can be as bold with a Prelat as familiar with a Laundresse*.⁴ But does it not argue rather the lascivious promptnesse of his own fancy, who from the hamelesse mention of a Sleekstone could neigh out the remembrance of his old conversation among the *Viraginian* trollops?⁵ For me, if he move me, I shall claime his owne oath, the oath *Ex officio*⁶ against any Priest or Prelat in the kingdome to have ever as much hated such pranks as the best and chastest of them all. That exception which I made against toothlesse Satirs the Confuter hopes I had from the *Satirist*, but is farre deceav'd: neither had I ever read the hobbling *distick*⁷ which he means. For this good hap I had from a carefull education to be inur'd and season'd betimes with the best and elegantest authors of the learned tongues, and thereto brought an eare that could measure a just cadence, and scan without articulating; rather nice and humorous⁸ in what was tolerable, then patient to read every draw-[32]ling versifier. Whence lighting upon this title of *tooth-*

¹ See *Animadversions*, above, p. 670. "Toothlesse Satirs" refers to Hall's book; see above, p. 880, n. 64.

² The "Champion from behind the Arras" is reminiscent of Polonius, *Hamlet*, III, iv, as noted in Bohn, III, 140 n.

³ *Modest Confutation* (1642), pp. 9–10, pedantically discusses teeth and horns.

⁴ A quotation from *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 9.

⁵ Referring to one of the regions in *Mundus Alter et Idem*; see above, p. 887, n. 107.

⁶ See above, p. 913, n. 2.

⁷ *Modest Confutation*, p. 9, quotes two lines of the six-line Latin verses, "De suis Satyris" (Hall, *Works*, 1863, IX, 563; Schulze, *Die Satiren Hals*, p. 21) and denies that the Satires are "improper" or "bullish."

⁸ As explained by Vissiak, *Milton*, p. 848, "fastidious and humouring (from a superior level)"

lesse Satirs, I will not conceale ye what I thought, Readers, that sure this must be some sucking Satir, who might have done better to have us'd his corall,⁹ and made an end of breeding,¹⁰ ere he took upon him to weild a Satirs whip. But when I heard him talk of *scouring the rusted swords of elvish Knights*,¹¹ doe not blame me, if I chang'd my thought, and concluded him some desperate Cutler. But why *his scornefull muse could never abide with tragick shoos her ankles for to hide*,¹² the pace of the verse told me that her maukin¹³ knuckles were never shapen to that royall buskin. And turning by chance to the sixth Satyr of his Second book I was confirm'd; where having begun loftily *in heavens universall Alphabet* he fals downe to that wretched poorenesse and frigidity as to talke of *Bridge street in heav'n, and the Ostler of heav'n*,¹⁴ and there wanting other matter to catch him a heat,¹⁵ (for certaine he was in the frozen *Zone*¹⁶ miserably benumm'd) with thoughts lower then any Beadle betakes him to whip the signe posts of *Cambridge Alehouses*, the ordinary subject of freshmens tales, and in a straine as pittifull.¹⁷ Which for him who would be counted *the first English Satyr*,¹⁸ to abase himselfe to, who might have learnt better among the Latin, and Italian Satyrists, and in our own tongue from

⁹ "A toy made of polished coral, given to infants to assist them in cutting their teeth." *NED*, citing this passage.

¹⁰ That is, grown up.

¹¹ "His Defiance of Enuy," l. 49 (*Hall, Works*, 1863, IX, 578; Schulze, *Die Satiren Halls*, p. 18).

¹² Satire I, Book I, ll. 9-10 (*Works*, 1863, IX, 583; Schulze, *Die Satiren Halls*, p. 23):

Nor euer could my scornefull Muse abide
With Tragick shoos her ankles for to hide.

¹³ Visiak, *Milton*, p. 848: "morkin (diseased, scabrous)." But *NED* quotes under "malkin": "an untidy female, a slut, slattern, drab; occasionally, a lewd woman," marking this use as "attributive."

¹⁴ Milton is quoting from Satire VII, Book II, ll. 1, 36, 40 (*Hall, Works*, 1863, IX, 604-05; Schulze, *Die Satiren Halls*, pp. 42-43).

¹⁵ "To become inspired" Cf. *NED*, "catch" 44, "to catch fire."

¹⁶ i.e., heaven Cf. *Defence of Himself*, "among the clouds, should be frozen to death."

¹⁷ The passage might be paraphrased: "with thoughts lower than a campus policeman has when he beats on the door of beer joints to drive out students, as freshmen often describe"

¹⁸ The "Prologue" to Book I of Hall's *Satires* (*Works*, 1863, IX, 581; Schulze, *Die Satiren Halls*, p. 22) begins,

I first adventure, with foolhardy might,
To tread the steps of perilous despight:
I first adventure: follow me who list,
And be the second English Satyrist.

the *vision and Creed of Pierce plowman*,¹⁹ besides others before him, manifested a presumptuous undertaking with weak, and unexamin'd shoulders. For a Satyr as it was borne out of a *Tragedy*, so ought to resemble his parentage, to strike high, and adventure dangerously at the most eminent vices among the greatest persons, and not to creepe into every blinde Taphouse that fears a Constable more then a Satyr. But that such a Poem should be toothlesse I still affirme it to be a bull,²⁰ taking away the essence of that which it calls it selfe. For if it bite neither the persons nor the vices, how is it a Satyr, and if it bite either, how is it toothlesse, so that toothlesse Satyrs are as much as if he had said toothlesse teeth. What we should do therefore with this learned Comment upon *teeth* and *horns* which hath brought this confutant into his *Pedantick* kingdome of *Cornucopia*, to reward him for glossing upon *horns* even to the *Hebrew root*,²¹ I know not unlesse we should commend him to be Lecturer in East-cheap upon S. *Lukes* day, when they send their tribute to that famous hav'n by Detford.²² But we are not like to scape him so. For now the worme of *Criticisme* works in him, he will tell us the derivation of *German* [33] *rutters*,

¹⁹ Attributed to William Langland and written about 1360–1399. See below, p. 946, for Milton's quotation from Gower.

²⁰ See *Animadversions*, above, p. 670. Visiak, *Milton*, p. 848, is right in denying the Bohn note (III, 141) that Milton was the first user of the word in the sense of "a self-contradictory proposition," but *NED*, which does cite earlier examples, first cites Milton's use in *Of True Religion*, "a meer contradiction, one of the Popes Bulls."

²¹ Another jibe at the pedantic discussion, *Modest Confutation* (1642), pp. 9–10, of teeth and horns; see above, p. 914, n. 3. *Cornucopia*, of course, involves a Latin pun, fullness of horns.

²² Visiak, *Milton*, p. 848, explains as follows: " 'Lecturer in East-cheap . . . Detford': alludes to proceedings at the annual *Horn Fair*, held on Oct. 18, and probably succeeding days. This was originated by King John, who made the grant of a fair to the inhabitants of Charlton, at first intended for the sale of goods made of *horn*, it came to be associated with horns on the head, and cuckolds. There was an old saying, 'All's fair at Horn Fair,' which meant that any kind of practical joke was allowed. The atmosphere was one of licentious ribaldry. A procession of holiday-makers started from Cuckold's point (near Deptford, also called Cuckold's Haven) and marched through Deptford and adjoining townships. Another procession paraded Eastcheap and its environs. 'Tribute' presumably means the toll paid to the King on the sale of goods in the Fair. In the Middle Ages on feast days displays of learning were common in the pulpits of Festival churches; hence the reference to 'lecturer'. If the lecturing in this case took place in a church, that church was almost certainly St. Clement's in Clement's Lane; but more probably, it took place in the open air." The source of this account has not been found.

of meat, and of ink,²³ which doubtlesse rightly apply'd with some gall in it may prove good to heale this tetter²⁴ of *Pedagoguisme* that be-spreads him, with such a *tenasmus*²⁵ of originating, that if he be an Arminian and deny originall sinne, all the *etymologies* of his book shall witnesse that his brain is not meanly tainted with that infection.

Sect. 7. His seventh section labours to cavill out the flawes which were found in the Remonstrants logick;¹ who having layd downe for a generall proposition, that *civill polity is variable and arbitrary*, from whence was inferr'd logically upon him that he had concluded the

²³ Milton is referring to pp 11-13 of the *Modest Confutation* but neglects the issue, his own attempted justification of the Smectymnuan slip of *Areopagi*, see *Animadversions*, above, p 666. "Rutters" were cavalry soldiers, "especially German." *NED*.

²⁴ "A general term for any . . . eruption of the skin" *NED*; cf. *Of Reformation*, above, p. 551.

²⁵ Variant of "tenesmus": "a continual inclination to void the contents of bowels or bladder, accompanied by straining, but with little or no discharge" *NED*

¹ See *Animadversions*, above, p. 671. *Humble Remonstrance* had said (1640, p. 8). "Since, if antiquity may be the rule, the civill Polity hath sometimes varied; the sacred, never; And if originall authority may carry it, that came from arbitrary imposers, this, from men inspired, and from them in an unquestionable clearnesse derived to us" The Smectymnuans attacked this in their *An Answer* (1641), pp 4-5; Hall replied in his *A Defence* (1641), pp 4-5 (*Works*, 1863, IX, 300-01); the Smectymnuans attacked it again in *A Vindication* (1641), pp. 6-8; Hall replied in his *Short Answer*, pp. 4-9 (*Works*, 1863, IX, 396-97). The *Modest Confutation* sets up the following syllogism (p 14):

Da- *Civill Polity in generall notion is variable and arbitrary*; you subsume, But

ri- *The Polity of our Kingdome is Civill Polity*: Ergo,

i. *The Polity of our Kingdome is variable, &c.*

and then a little below comments on it: "For look upon your syllogism; there is in the major proposition, *fallacia ad plures interrogaciones*: For either we ask, what is possible only; or what is possible and lawfull. The Remonstrant answers; It is possible Civill Polity may vary; or, It is in generall notion left of God to a various administration; subject to divers forms, Monarchy, Aristocracy, Democracy. You answer; It may be lawfully done at any time, or by any whatever undertakers: For so much is inferred in your conclusion.

*Civill Polity is at any time, or by any undertakers
variable and subject to a lawfull alteration.*

But the Polity of England, &c. Ergo,

It is at any time, by any undertakers, &c.

This makes the Treason, this you must and do inferre, or else you charge him with Treason unjustly. In this sense, *as lawfull*, and, *at any time*, and, *by any undertakers*, the Remonstrant denies the particular to be inferred upon his generall. But in his own he grants it, *viz* That it is *possible*, subject to a condition of variation, though it be Treason against the highest Majesty of heaven, whose substitute the King is, in him or them who do attempt a change."

polity of England to be arbitrary, for generall includes particular, here his defendant is not ashame'd to confesse that the Remonstrants proposition was sophisticall *by a fallacy call'd ad plures interrogaciones* which sounds to me somewhat strange that a Remonstrant of that pretended sincerity should bring deceitfull and double dealing propositions to the Parliament. The truth is he had let slip a shrewd passage ere he was aware, not thinking the conclusion would turne upon him with such a terrible edge, and not knowing how to winde out of the briars, he or his substitute seems more willing to lay the integrity of his Logick to pawn, and grant a fallacy in his owne *Major*² where none is, then be forc't to uphold the inference. For that distinction of *possible and lawfull* is ridiculous to be sought for in that proposition; no man doubting that it is possible to change the forme of civill polity; and that it is held lawfull by that *Major*, the word *arbitrary* implices. Nor will this helpe him, to deny that it is arbitrary *at any time or by any undertakers* (which are two limitations invented by him since)³ for when it stands as he will have it now by his second edition⁴ *civill polity is variable but not at any time or by any undertakers*, it will result upon him, belike then at some time, and by some undertakers it may. And so he goes on mincing the matter, till he meets with something in Sir *Francis Bacon*,⁵ then he takes heart againe and holds his *Major* at large. But by and by as soon as the shadow of Sir *Francis* hath left him, he fals off again warping and warping till he come to contradict himselfe in diameter:⁶ and denies flatly that it is *either variable or arbitrary, being once settl'd*. Which third shift is no lesse a piece of laughter. For before the polity was settl'd how could it be variable when as it was no polity at all, but either an *Anarchy* or a

² Major premise of the syllogism just quoted.

³ Milton has noted that these words in the *Modest Confutation's* defense (1642, p 14), do not appear in any of Hall's three pamphlets.

⁴ i e, the revision the Confuter made in Hall's original statements, as Milton has just pointed out. See preceding note. There was only one edition of *Modest Confutation*.

⁵ Refers to a quotation in *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 15, from Bacon's *Certaine Considerations* (1640, see above, pp. 25-26), sig. B3, p. [9]: "All civill governments are restrained from God unto the generall grounds of Justice and manners, but the policies and formes of them are left free." To which the *Modest Confutation* says: "free, and to the arbitrement of a people, met together and consenting by the secret impression and instinct of God."

⁶ "Diametrically." *NED*; cf. *Doctrine of Divorce*, II, xxi Milton is referring to the statement in the paragraph following that just quoted, *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 15. "The Kings hold is divine; he hath a *deputed sovereignty*."

Tyranny. That limitation therefore of [34] after settling is a meere tautology. So that in fine his former assertion is now recanted and *civill polity is neither variable nor arbitrary.*

Sect. 8. What ever else may perswade me that this confutation was not made without some assistance or advice of the Remonstrant, yet in this eighth Section that his hand was not greatly intermixt, I can easily believe. For it begins with this surmise, that *not having to accuse the Remonstrant to the King, I do it to the Parliament*,¹ which conceit of the man cleanly shoves the King out of the Parliament, and makes two bodies of one.² Whereas the Remonstrant in the Epistle to his last *short answer*, gives his *supposall that they cannot be sever'd in the rights of their severall concernments.*³ Mark, Readers, if they cannot be sever'd in what is severall (which casts a *Buls eye*⁴ to go yoke with the toothlesse Satyrs) how should they be sever'd in their common concernments, the welfare of the land, by due accusation of such as are the common grievances, among which I took the Remonstrant to be one. And therefore if I accus'd him to the Parliament, it was the same as to accuse him to the King. Next he casts it into the dish of I know not whom that *they flatter some of the House and libell others whose consciences made them vote contrary to some proceedings.*⁵ Those some proceedings can be understood of nothing else but the *Deputies* execution.⁶ And can this private concocter of malcontent, at the very instant when he pretends to extoll the Parliament, afford thus to blurre over, rather then to mention that publick triumph of their justice and constancy so high, so glorious, so reviving to the fainted Common-wealth with such a suspicious and murmuring expression as

¹ *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 15: "You, not having anything to accuse the Remonstrant to the King, do it to the Parliament." Referring to *Animadversions*, above, p. 667.

² Since bills passed by both houses could become laws only by consent of the king, Milton rightly thinks of them as one body.

³ As he says, Milton is quoting from Hall's *A Short Answer* (1641), sig. a^v (*Works*, 1863, IX, 389).

⁴ Probably not in the modern sense of the center of a target but in the sense above, p. 916, of "an Irish Bull." "Go Yoke," to be linked or tied to.

⁵ Speaking of "the Remonstrant and his faction," *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 16: "It is not the Parliament they make head against, but you and your furious complices, . . . (witnessse your Libels against so many of them, as their consciences made Vote contrary to some proceedings) are like to over-turn all."

⁶ Bohn, III, 143 n., "The Earl of Strafford's execution in 1640." Visiak, *Milton*, p. 848, repeats this inaccuracy. Strafford's trial took place in March-April, 1641, and the execution May 12, 1641; see above, pp. 87-92.

to call it *some proceedings?* and yet immediately hee falls to glozing,⁷ as if hee were the only man that rejoyc't at these times. But I shall discover to ye Readers, that this his praising of them is as full of nonsense and Scolastick foppery, as his meaning he himselfe discovers to be full of close malignity. His first *Encomium* is that *the Sun looks not upon a braver nobler convocation then is that of King, Peers, and Commons.*⁸ One thing I beg of ye Readers, as ye beare any zeale to learning, to elegance, and that which is call'd *Decorum*⁹ in the writing of praise, especially on such a noble argument, ye would not be offended, though I rate this cloister'd Lubber¹⁰ according to his deserts. Where didst thou learne to be so agueish, so pusillanimous, thou lozel¹¹ Bachelour of Art, as [35] against all custome and use of speech to terme the high and sovran Court of Parlament, a Convocation?¹² was this the flower of all thy *Synonyma's* and voluminous *Papers* whose best *folios* are predestin'd to no better end then to make winding sheetes in Lent for Pilchers?¹³ Could'st thou presume thus with one words speaking to clap as it were under hatches¹⁴ the King with all his Peeres and Gentry into square Caps, and Monkish hoods? How well dost thou now appeare to be a Chip of the old block that could finde *Bridge street and Alehouses in heav'n*;¹⁵ why didst thou not to be his perfect imitator, liken the King to the Vice-chancellour, & the

⁷ "Glossing or explaining away, extenuation, palliation." *NED*, citing passage; cf. *Comus*, I 161, and *Paradise Lost*, IX, 549.

⁸ Exactly quoted from *Modest Confutation* (1642), p 16.

⁹ The preface to Book II, *Church-Government*, in its attack on "Poetasters" explains this word, above, p 801. See also Ida Langdon, *Milton's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art* (New Haven, 1924), pp 105-15, for the classic sources.

¹⁰ "A big, clumsy, stupid fellow; a lout. Frequently applied in early quotations to a monk." *NED*

¹¹ "Losel. worthless, good for nothing" *NED*, which quotes this

¹² Because the convocation that was called with the Short Parlament continued to sit and pass canons after Parlament itself was dismissed by the king, it was the target for sharp attack by the Long Parlament; see Masson, II, 194-95; Gardiner, IX, 142-47. Cf *Of Reformation*, above, p. 540, and *Animadversions*, above, p. 673.

¹³ Pilchers are small sea fish (*NED*) which Milton says will be wrapped in the book pages which the Confutant has used to assist him in his writing. Cf. Milton's similar ridicule of Salmasius in *Second Defence* (1654), p. 28.

¹⁴ "Literally, below deck, a nautical term; figuratively, down in position or circumstances, in a state of depression, humiliation, subjection or restraint." *NED*; cf. *Eikonoklastes*, Chapter XXVII (1649, p 220). "to have kept us still under hatches."

¹⁵ Alluding to the "Toothless Satires", see above, p 915, n. 14

Lords to the Doctors.¹⁶ Neither is this an indignity only but a reproach, to call that inviolable residence of justice and liberty, by such an odious name as now a *Convocation* is become; which would be nothing injur'd, though it were stil'd the house of bondage, whereout so many cruell tasks, so many unjust burdens, have been laden upon the brused consciences of so many Christians throughout the land.¹⁷ But which of those worthy deeds, whereof we and our posterity must confesse this Parliament to have done so many and so noble, which of those memorable acts comes first into his praises? none of all, not one. What will he then praise them for? not for any thing doing, but for deferring to do, for deferring to chastise his leud and insolent *compriests*.¹⁸ Not that they have deferr'd all, but that he hopes they will remit what is yet behind.¹⁹ For the rest of his oratory that followes, so just is it in the language of stall epistle non sense,²⁰ that if he who made it can understand it, I deny not but that he may deserve for his pains a cast Doublet.²¹ When a man would looke he should vent something of his owne, as ever in a set speech the manner is with him that knowes any thing, he, lest we should not take notice anough of his barren stupidity, declares it by Alphabet, and referres us to odde remnants in his topicks.²² Nor yet content with the wonted room of his margent, but he

¹⁶ That is, liken the king to the head of the university, and the Lords to the faculty.

¹⁷ See above, p 920, n. 12

¹⁸ *Modest Confutation*, speaking (1642), p 16, of Parliament, "the Convocation," as Milton has mentioned "whose equall Justice, and wise moderation, shall eternally triumph, in that they have hitherto deferred to do, what the sower exorbitancies on one hand, and eager solicitations on the other, not permitting them to consult with reason, would have prompted them to." Masson, II, 398, feels that this refers to the Bishops' Exclusion Bill (passed February 5 by the Lords and accepted by the king February 13), and he therefore concludes that the *Modest Confutation* "must have been written before February 1641-2."

¹⁹ This may refer to the passage of the Bishops' Exclusion Bill or to the impeachment of the twelve bishops, December 30, 1641; see Gardiner, X, 122-25

²⁰ *NED* cites this passage as a "nonce-use" of "stall epistle," an open letter or pamphlet sold on the streets.

²¹ "Cast off or discarded counterfeit jewel or coat." *NED*.

²² *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 16, has four long marginal notes lettered to correspond with phrases in the text. These notes intrude into the text itself, as Milton says in the next sentence. Other similar "docks and creeks" are to be found on pp 2, 12, 13, 21, of the *Modest Confutation* (1642) as well as in all of Hall's pamphlets as the Remonstrant. See above, p. 910, n 2, and *Church-Government*, above, p. 822, where Milton derides "marginal stuffings." Cf. "Marginal Prynne" in the Cambridge MS. version of "On the New Forcers of Conscience."

must cut out large docks and creeks into his text to unlade the foolish frigate of his unseasonable autorities, not wherewith to praise the Parliament, but to tell them what he would have them do. What else there is, he jumbles together in such a lost construction, as no man either letter'd, or unletter'd will be able to piece up. I shall spare to transcribe him, but if I do him wrong, let me be so dealt with.

Now although it be a digression from the ensuing matter, yet [36] because it shall not be said I am apter to blame others then to make triall my selfe, and that I may after this harsh discord touch upon a smoother string, awhile to entertaine my selfe and him that list, with some more pleasing fit,²³ and not the lest to testifie the gratitudo which I owe to those publick benefactors of their country, for the share I enjoy in the common peace and good by their incessant labours, I shall be so troublesome to this declamer for once, as to shew him what he might have better said in their praise. Wherein I must mention only some few things of many, for more then that to a digression may not be granted. Although certainly their actions are worthy not thus to be spoken of by the way, yet if hereafter it befall me to attempt something more answerable to their great merits,²⁴ I perceave how hopelesse it will be to reach the height of their prayses at the accomplishment of that expectation that weights²⁵ upon their noble deeds, the unfinishing²⁶ whereof already surpasses what others before them have left enacted with their utmost performance through many ages. And to the end we may be confident that what they do, proceeds neither from uncertaine opinion; nor sudden counsels, but from mature wisdome, deliberat vertue, and deere affection to the publick good, I shall begin at that which made them likeliest in the eyes of good men to effect those things for the recovery of decay'd religion and the Commonwealth, which they who were best minded had long wisht for, but few, as the times then were desperat, had the courage to hope for.²⁷ First

²³ "A part or section of a poem or song, a canto; a strain of music, stave." *NED*. Here begins Milton's eulogy of the Long Parliament.

²⁴ The course of events was to prevent such a panegyric.

²⁵ Waits; "expectation" in the sense of "ground or warrant for expecting"; cf. Psalms 62:5. *NED*.

²⁶ "What is left unfinished." *NED* quotes as a rare form. Milton has in mind, probably, the settling of the church government, not yet undertaken by the Parliament.

²⁷ The failure of the Short Parliament in the spring of 1640 hardly gave much promise for the calling of the Long Parliament in the fall of the same year; see Gardiner, IX, 117-18.

therefore the most of them being either of ancient and high Nobility, or at least of knowne and well reputed ancestry, which is a great advantage towards vertue one way, but in respect of welth, ease, and flattery, which accompanies a nice and tender education, is as much a hindrance another way, the good which lay before them they took, in imitating the worthiest of their progenitors, and the evill which assaulted their younger yeares by the temptation of riches, high birth, and that usuall bringing up, perhaps too favourable and too remisse, through the strength of an inbred goodnesse, and with the helpe of divine grace, that had markt them out for no meane purposes, they nobly overcame.²⁸ Yet had they a greater danger to cope with; for being train'd up in the knowledge of learning, and sent to those places, which were intended to be the seed plots of piety and the Liberall Arts, but were become the nurseries of superstition, and [37] empty speculation,²⁹ as they were prosperous against those vices which grow upon youth out of idlenesse and superfluity,³⁰ so were they happy in working off the harmes of their abused³¹ studies and labours; correcting by the clearnesse of their owne judgement the errors of their mis-instruction, and were as *David* was, wiser then their teachers.³² And although their lot fell into such times, and to be bred in such places, where if they chanc't to be taught any thing good, or of their own accord had learn't it, they might see that presently untaught them by the custome and ill example of their elders, so farre in all probability was their youth from being misled by the single power of example, as their riper years were knowne to be unmov'd with the baits of preferment,³³ and undaunted for any discouragement and terror³⁴ which appear'd often to those that lov'd religion, and their native liberty. Which two things God hath inseparably knit together, and hath disclos'd to us that they

²⁸ A somewhat involved sentence. Bohn, III, 145-46 n, attributes the idea of the dangers of noble birth to Aristotle.

²⁹ Earlier Milton has shown his contempt for the universities (see above, p. 854). Later (p. 934) Milton attacks the shallow learning of some graduates.

³⁰ Connected with their noble birth.

³¹ Either "obsolete" or "misused." NED. In the light of the rest of Milton's comments, the former meaning appears to be what he has in mind.

³² Psalms 119.98-99.

³³ Possibly this may refer to Charles's offer to Pym of the Chancellorship of the Exchequer; see Gardiner, X, 127. See also Gardiner, IX, 416, Charles's use of preferment for his supporters.

³⁴ Charles's attempted *coup d'état* by the arrest of the Five Members might be instanced as a "terror." See Gardiner, X, 129-41.

who seek to corrupt our religion are the same that would inthrall our civill liberty.³⁵ Thus in the midst of all disadvantages and disrespects (some also at last not without imprisonment and open disgraces in the cause of their countrey) ³⁶ having given prooфе of themselves to be better made and fram'd by nature to the love and practise of vertue, then others under the holiest precepts and best examples have been headstrong and prone to vice,³⁷ and having in all the trialls of a firme ingrafted honesty not oftner buckl'd ³⁸ in the conflict, then giv'n every opposition the foile, this moreover was added by favour from heav'n, as an ornament and happinesse to their vertue, that it should be neither obscure in the opinion of men, nor eclips't for want of matter equal to illustrat it selfe; God and man consenning in joynt approbation to choose them out as worthiest above others to be both the great reformers of the Church, and the restorers of the Common-wealth. Nor did they deceave that expectation which with the eyes and desires of their countrey was fixt upon them; for no sooner did the force of so much united excellence meet in one globe ³⁹ of brightnesse and efficacy, but encountring the dazl'd resistance of tyranny, they gave not over, though their enemies were strong and subtle, till they had laid her groveling upon the fatall block.⁴⁰ With one stroke winning againe our lost liberties and Charters, which our forefathers after so many battels could scarce maintaine.⁴¹ And meeting next, as I may so resemble, with the second life of tyranny [38] (for she was growne an ambiguous monster, and to be slaine in two shapes) guarded with superstition which hath no small power to captivate the minds of men otherwise most wise, they neither were taken with her miter'd hypocrisie, nor terrifi'd with the push of her bestiall hornes, but breaking them immedately forc't her to unbend the pontificall brow, and recoile. Which

³⁵ The petition of the Twelve Bishops, which led to their impeachment; Gardiner, X, 122-25. They urged that all action of the Parliament was "null and void" since they found it impossible to attend the sessions because of the London mobs.

³⁶ Referring to the fact that several members imprisoned for their part in the closing sessions of the 1629 Parliament were members of the Long Parliament; see Masson, I, 182, and II, 159-73, Gardiner, IX, 223, 407.

³⁷ Probably the bishops.

³⁸ "To give way, submit; to cringe, truckle." *NED*

³⁹ In a figurative sense. "a complete or perfect body, a 'full-orbed' combination" *NED*, which quotes this

⁴⁰ Another allusion to the execution of Strafford. See above, p. 919, n. 6

⁴¹ Milton, like modern historians, saw that the death of Strafford terminated his policy of "thorough" by which Charles had dispensed with Parliamentary rule, 1629-1640, Davies, *Early Stuarts*, pp. 98-99.

repulse only, given to the Prelats (that we may imagine how happy their removall would be) ⁴² was the producement of such glorious effects and consequences in the Church, that if I should compare them with those exploits of highest fame in Poems and *Panegyrics* of old, I am certaine it would but diminish and impaire their worth, who are now my argument. For those ancient worthies deliver'd men from such tyrants as were content to inforce only an outward obedience, letting the minde be as free as it could. But these have freed us from a doctrine of tyranny that offer'd violence and corruption even to the inward persuasion. They set at liberty Nations and Cities of men good and bad mixt together: but these opening the prisons and dungeons cal'd out of darknesse and bonds, the elect Martyrs and witnesses of their Redeemer.⁴³ They restor'd the body to ease and wealth; but these the opprest conscience to that freedome which is the chiefe prerogative of the Gospell; taking off those cruell burdens impos'd not by necessity, as other tyrants are wont for the safeguard of their lives, but laid upon our necks by the strange wilfulness and wantonnesse of a needlesse and jolly persecuter call'd Indifference.⁴⁴ Lastly, some of those ancient deliverers have had immortall praises for preserving their citizens from a famine of corne. But these by this only repulse of an unholy *hierarchy* almost in a moment replenisht with saving knowledge their countrey nigh famisht for want of that which should feed their souls.⁴⁵ All this being done while two armies in the field stood gazing on, the one in reverence of such noblenesse quietly gave back, and dislodg'd; the other spight of the unrulinesse, and doubted fidelity in some regiments, was either perswaded or compell'd to disband and retire home.⁴⁶ With such a majesty had their wisdome begirt it selfe,

⁴² Although the Root and Branch Bill to abolish bishops had been passed by the House in June, 1641, it had failed in the Lords. The "repulse" here might refer to the Bishops' Exclusion Bill and the impeachment and imprisonment; see above, p. 921, n. 18. Laud's impeachment, December 18, 1640, however, may also be referred to; see Gardiner, IX, 248-49.

⁴³ Prynne, Bastwick, Burton, Leighton, and Lilburne, all Puritan writers, were released from prison by one of the earliest acts of the Long Parliament. See Gardiner, IX, 236.

⁴⁴ The bishops argued against the Puritan complaints about the liturgy and hierarchy that they were "things indifferent." See *Of Reformation*, above, p. 585; cf. *Animadversions*, above, p. 689.

⁴⁵ Another Puritan complaint was the lack of preaching; there was no specific action taken, but the encouragement of preaching is mentioned in the *Grand Remonstrance* of December, 1641, see Masson, II, 326-27.

⁴⁶ The Scottish and English armies, respectively, are referred to; the former was

that whereas others had levied warre to subdue a nation that sought for peace, they sitting here in peace could so many miles extend the force of their single words as to overawe the dissolute stoutnesse of an armed power secretly stirr'd up and almost hir'd against them.⁴⁷ And having by a so-[39]lemne protestation⁴⁸ vow'd themselves and the kingdome anew to God and his service, and by a prudent foresight above what their Fathers thought on, prevented the dissolution and frustrating of their designes by an untimely breaking up,⁴⁹ notwithstanding all the treasonous plots against them, all the rumours either of rebellion, or invasion,⁵⁰ they have not bin yet brought to change their constant resolution, ever to think fearlesly of their owne safeties, and hopefully of the Common-wealth. Which hath gain'd them such an admiration from all good men, that now they heare it as their ord'rary surname, to be saluted the Fathers of their countrey; and sit as gods among daily Petitions and publick thanks flowing in upon them. Which doth so little yet exalt them in their own thoughts, that with all gentle affability and courteous acceptance they both receave and returne that tribute of thanks which is tender'd them; testifying their zeale and desire to spend themselves as it were peice-meale upon the grievances and wrongs of their distressed Nation. Insomuch that the meanest artizans and labourers, at other times also women, and often the younger sort of servants assembling with their complaints, and that sometimes in a lesse humble guise then for petitioners, have gone with confidence, that neither their meanness would be rejected, nor their simplicity contemn'd, nor yet their urgency distasted either by the dignity, wisdome, or moderation of that supreme Senate; nor did they depart unsatisfi'd.⁵¹ And indeed, if we consider the generall the chief source of the Long Parliament's power (Gardiner, IX, 219) and disbanded with the English army in the late summer and early fall, 1641 (*ibid.*, X, 6-7).

⁴⁷ Various "plots" involving the Irish army and members of the English army threatened the Parliament in the spring of 1641; see *ibid.*, IX, 289, 313-14, 399. All leaked out and were abortive.

⁴⁸ Of May 3, 1641; see above, pp. 94-95.

⁴⁹ The Bill for Triennial Parliaments (originally one for annual parliaments) was finally accepted by the king February 15, 1641. See Gardiner, IX, 262-63, 273-74, 290

⁵⁰ In the middle of March, 1642, there were rumors that French troops were to be used against the English; *ibid.*, X, 177. In May, 1641, similar rumors had been prevalent, however; see *ibid.*, IX, 356-57.

⁵¹ The "artificers" of London and Westminster presented a petition on January 31, 1642, and on February 4 there was a petition from the women; see *ibid.*, X, 162-63. Masson, II, 398 n., mentions the women's petition in discussing the dating

concourse of suppliants, the free and ready admittance, the willing and speedy redresse in what is possible, it will not seeme much otherwise, then as if some divine commission from heav'n were descended to take into hearing and commiseration the long remedilesse afflictions of this kingdome; were it not that none more then themselves labour to remove and divert such thoughts, lest men should place too much confidence in their persons, still referring us and our prayers to him that can grant all, and appointing the monthly return of publick fasts and supplications.⁵² Therefore the more they seeke to humble themselves, the more does God by manifest signes and testimonies visibly honour their proceedings; and sets them as the mediators of this his cov'nant which he offers us to renew. Wicked men daily conspire their hurt, and it comes to nothing,⁵³ rebellion rages in our Irish Province, but with miraculous and losselesse victories of few against [40] many is daily discomfited and broken; if we neglect not this early pledge of Gods inclining towards us, by the slacknesse of our needfull aids.⁵⁴ And whereas at other times we count it ample honour when God voutsafes to make man the instrument and subordinate worker of his gracious will, such acceptation have their prayers found with him, that to them he hath bin pleas'd to make himselfe the agent, and immediat performer of their desires; dissolving their difficulties when they are thought inexplicable, cutting out wayes for them where no passage could be seene; as who is there so regardlesse of Divine providence, that from late occurrences will not confesse.⁵⁵ If therefore it be so high a grace when men are preferr'd to be but the inferior officers of good things from God, what is it when God himselfe condescends, and workes with his owne hands to fulfill the requests of men; which I

of the *Apology*; elsewhere, pp. 348-49, he discusses the Parliamentary reception of the women's petition and those of the "Prentices and Sailors of London and of the Street Porters."

⁵² Husbands, *An Exact Collection* (1643), pp. 48-49, prints the "Proclamation for a Generall Fast throughout this Realm of *England*," dated the "eighth day of January," to which this seems to refer.

⁵³ In addition to the plots mentioned above Charles's attempt to arrest the Five Members (January 4) may be alluded to here, see Gardiner, X, 132-51.

⁵⁴ Husbands, *An Exact Collection* (1643), pp. 141-43, prints the "Petition of the Lords and Commons, presented to His Majesty . . . April 8, 1642," which mentions as one of the reasons against the king's going to Ireland "the manifold successes which God hath given against them," i.e., the Irish Rebels. See also Gardiner, X, 172-75.

⁵⁵ Perhaps alluding to the attempted arrest of the Five Members; see above, pp. 183-86.

leave with them as the greatest praise that can belong to humane nature. Not that we should think they are at the end of their glorious progresse,⁵⁶ but that they will go on to follow his Almighty leading, who seems to have thus cov'nanted with them, that if the will and the endeavour shall be theirs, the performance and the perfeting shall be his. Whence only it is that I have not fear'd, though many wise men have miscarried in praising great designes before the utmost event, because I see who is their assistant, who their confederat, who hath ingag'd his omnipotent arme, to support and crowne with successse their faith, their fortitude, their just and magnanimous actions, till he have brought to passe all that expected good which his servants trust is in his thoughts to bring upon this land in the full and perfet reformation of his Church.

Thus farre I have digest, Readers, from my former subject; but into such a path, as I doubt not ye will agree with me, to be much fairer and more delightfull then the rode way I was in. And how to break off suddenly into those jarring notes, which this Confuter hath set me, I must be wary, unlesse I can provide against offending the eare, as some Musicians are wont skilfully to fall out of one key into another without breach of harmony.⁵⁷ By good luck therefore his ninth Section is spent in mournfull elegy, certaine passionat soliloquies, and two whole pages of intergatories that praise the Remonstrant even to the sonetting of *his fresh cheeks, quick eyes, round tongue, agil hand, and nimble invention.*⁵⁸ [41]

In his tenth Section he will needs erect figures, and tell fortunes. *I am no Bishop*, he sayes, *I was never borne to it*;⁵⁹ let me tell therefore this wizzard since he calculats so right, that he may know there be in the world, and I among those who nothing admire his Idol a Bishop-

⁵⁶ The exclusion of the bishops from the Lords still left them within the church, and Milton is clearly looking forward to the passage of the Root and Branch Bill.

⁵⁷ Ida Langdon, *Milton's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, p. 49, notes this passage indicates Milton's possession of technical knowledge of music. As earlier in the case of Section 2 of the *Modest Confutation* (see above, p. 907, n. 58), *An Apology* has no subdivision for Section 9 or Section 10 of the *Modest Confutation*, although mention is made of both parts.

⁵⁸ The quotations are from p. 17, *Modest Confutation* (1642), Section IX of which extends from p. 17 through p. 21. "Intergatories," i.e., interrogations or questions, are numerous in *Modest Confutation* (1642), pp. 18-20.

⁵⁹ *Ibd.*, p. 22: "Forsooth you would give the world to know these two things; First, that you are no Bishop: Secondly, that you can pray *ex tempore*. Surely a man of strong parts, and a mortified ambition!" See *Animadversions*, above, p. 682, to which the Confutant is referring.

rick, and hold that it wants so much to be a blessing, as that I rather deeme it the mearest, the falsest, the most unfortunate guift of fortune. And were the punishment and misery of being a Prelat Bishop terminated only in the person, and did not extend to the affliction of the whole Diocesse, if I would wish any thing in bitternesse of soule to mine enemy, I would wish him the biggest and the fattest Bishoprick. But hee proceeds; and the familiar ⁶⁰ belike informs him, that *a rich Widow, or a Lecture, or both, would content me*; whereby I perceave him to be more ignorant in his art of divining then any Gipsy.⁶¹ For this I cannot omit without ingratitudo to that providence above, who hath ever bred me up in plenty, although my life hath not bin unexpensive in learning, and voyaging about, so long as it shall please him to lend mee what he hath hitherto thought good, which is anough to serve me in all honest and liberall occasions, and something over besides, I were unthankfull to that highest bounty, if I should make my selfe so poore, as to sollicite needily any such kinde of *rich hopes*⁶² as this Fortune-teller dreams of. And that he may furder learne how his Astrology is wide all the houses of heav'n⁶³ in spelling mariages, I care not if I tell him thus much profestly, though it be to the losing of my *rich hopes*, as he calls them, that I think with them who both in prudence and elegance of spirit would choose a virgin of mean fortunes honestly bred, before the wealthiest widow.⁶⁴ The feind therefore that told our *Chaldean*⁶⁵ the contrary was a lying feind. His next venome

⁶⁰ Has three possible meanings: an officer of the Inquisition, an intimate friend or associate, and a familiar spirit *NED*. The quotation which follows refers to the words immediately after the passage quoted in preceding note: "But we will not think so uncharitably of you; A rich Widow, or a Lecture, or both, contents you"

⁶¹ Milton's only other reference to gipsy fortune-telling occurs in *A Defence*, Chapter V.

⁶² *Modest Conjuration* (1642), p. 22, continues after the "rich Widow" passage quoted above: "To the first you make way, by a long, tedious, theatricall big-mouthed, astounding Prayer, put up in the name of the three Kingdomes; not so much either to please God, or benefit the weal-publike by it, as to intimate your owne good abilities to her that is your *rich hopes*."

⁶³ "The whole sky, excluding those parts that never rise and that never set, being thus divided into twelve houses" *NED*

⁶⁴ See Masson, II, 408-09, who says this is "a marriage-advertisement." Tillyard, *Milton*, p. 139, feels this may refer to Mary Powell. See also Burns Martin, "The Date of Milton's First Marriage," *SP*, XXV (1928), 457-62, and B. A. Wright, "Milton's First Marriage," *MLR*, XXVI (1931), 383-400, and XXVII (1932), 6-32.

⁶⁵ See Daniel 2:2, "the magicians, and the astrologers, and the sorcerers, and the Chaldeans."

he utters against a prayer which he found in the *animadversions*,⁶⁶ angry it seems to finde any prayers but in the Service Book. He dislikes it, and I therefore like it the better. It was *theatricall*, he sayes. And yet it consisted most of Scripture language: it had no *Rubrick*⁶⁷ to be sung in an antick Coape upon the Stage of a High Altar. It was *big-mouth'd* he sayes; no marvell; if it were fram'd as the voice of three Kingdomes: neither was it a prayer so much as a hymne in prose frequent both in the Prophets, and in humane authors; therefore the stile was greater then for an ordinary prayer:⁶⁸ *It was an astounding prayer.* I thank him for that confession, so it was intended to [42] astound and to astonish the guilty Prelats; and this Confuter confesses that with him it wrought that effect. But in that which followes, he does not play the Soothsayer but the diabolick slanderer of prayers. *It was made*, he sayes, *not so much to please God, or to benefit the weale publick* (how dares the Viper judge that) *but to intimate*, saith he, *your good abilities, to her that is your rich hopes, your Maronilla.*⁶⁹ How hard it is when a man meets with a Foole to keepe his tongue from folly.⁷⁰ That were miserable indeed to be a Courter of *Maronilla*, and withall of such a haplesse invention, as that no way should be left me to present my meaning but to make my selfe a canting⁷¹ Probationer of orisons, The Remonstrant when he was as young as I could

*Toothlesse Teach each hollow Grove to sound his love
Satyrs, Wearying echo with one changelesse word.*⁷²

⁶⁶ Visiak, *Milton*, p. 848, despite Milton's identification of the passage as in *Animadversions* (see above, p. 928, n 59), refers to *Of Reformation*, the prayer at the close; in this Visiak is quite clearly in error. Milton begins to take up the passage already quoted, above, p. 929, n 62.

⁶⁷ "Direction for the conduct of Divine service inserted in liturgical books, and properly printed in red." *NED*. Milton is attacking the emphasis on form in the church service.

⁶⁸ Cf. *Church-Government*, above, p. 682.

⁶⁹ A rich widow in Martial, *Epigrams*, Book I, No 10, according to Visiak, *Milton*, p. 849. *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 22, follows the passage quoted above, p. 929, n. 62, with two lines in Latin, in which the name occurs.

⁷⁰ Seemingly referring to Proverbs 26.4.

⁷¹ "Speaking in a sing-song tone; whining." *NED*.

⁷² These lines and those a little below are from "His Defiance to Eniw," from *Virgidemiarum* (Hall, *Works*, 1863, X, 579-80; Schulze, *Die Satiren Halls*, pp. 19-20). This passage is part of the following four lines (81-84):

To teach each hollow grove, and shrubby hill,
Each murmuring brooke, each solitary vale
To sound our love, and to our song accord,
Wearying Eccho with one changelesse word.

And so he well might, and all his auditory ⁷³ besides with his *teach each.*

*Toothlesse Whether so me list my lovely thoughts to sing,
Satyrs, Come dance ye nimble dryads by my side,
Whiles I report my fortunes or my loves.*⁷⁴

Delicious! he had that whole bevie at command whether in morrice ⁷⁵ or at May pole. Whilst I, by this figure-caster must be imagin'd in such distresse as to sue to *Maronilla*, and yet left so impoverisht of what to say, as to turne my Liturgy into my Ladies Psalter. Believe it graduat, I am not altogether so rustick, and nothing so irreligious,⁷⁶ but as farre distant from a Lecturer,⁷⁷ as the meerest Laick, for any consecrating hand of a Prelat that shall ever touch me. Yet I shall not decline the more for that, to speak my opinion in the controversie next mov'd. *Whether the people may be allow'd, for competent judges of a ministers ability.*⁷⁸ For how else can be fulfill'd that which God hath promis'd, to power ⁷⁹ out such abundance of knowledge upon all sorts of men in the times of the Gospell? how should the people examine the doctrine which is taught them, as Christ and his Apostles continually bid them do? ⁸⁰ how should they *discerne and beware of false Prophets,*⁸¹ *and try every spirit,*⁸² if they must be thought unfit to judge of the ministers abilities: the Apostles ever labour'd to perswade the Christian flock that they *were call'd in Christ*

⁷³ "Both an audience and, as an adjective, pertaining to the sense of hearing." *NED.*

⁷⁴ See above, p. 930, n. 72; these lines are 97-98, 102. Omitted are ll. 99-101:

Ye gentle wood-Nymphs come & with you bring
The willing Faunes that mought your musick guide.
Come Numphs & Faunes, that haunt those shady groves.

⁷⁵ Morris dance; *cf. Comus*, l. 116.

⁷⁶ Modern usage would have, "and not nearly so irreligious."

⁷⁷ "One of a class of preachers in the Church of England . . . supported by voluntary contributions, whose duty consists mainly in delivering afternoon or evening lectures" *NED.*

⁷⁸ Not a quotation from *Modest Confutation* but a summary of the main points covered, pp. 22-24, where the Confuter quotes freely from *Animadversions*. A sample of this discussion in *Modest Confutation* is the following (1642, p 23): "Who but you, against the command of God himself, dare bring not the Congregation onely, but the very beasts of the people, within the borders of the Mount?"

⁷⁹ Pour. Possibly an allusion to Joel 2:28-29. *Cf. Isaiah 44:3; Acts 2:18.*

⁸⁰ No specific passage but implied in the Sermon on the Mount, Matthew 5-7.

⁸¹ Matthew 7:15, "Beware of false prophets."

⁸² I John 4:1, "Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God."

to all perfectnesse of spirituall knowledge,⁸³ and full assurance of understanding in the mystery of God.⁸⁴ But the non-resident and plurality-gaping Prelats the gulphs and whirle pools of benefices, but the dry [43] pits of all sound doctrine, that they may the better preach what they list to their sheep, are still possessing them that they are sheepe indeed, without judgement, without understanding, *the very beasts of Mount Sinai*,⁸⁵ as this Confuter calls them; which words of theirs may serve to condemne them out of their owne mouths; and to shew the grosse contrarieties that are in their opinions. For while none thinke the people so void of knowledge as the Prelats think them, none are so backward and malignant as they to bestow knowledge upon them; both by suppressing the frequency of Sermons, and the printed explanations of the English Bible. No marvell if the people turne beasts, when their Teachers themselves as *Isaiah* calls them, *Are dumbe and greedy dogs that can never have anough, ignorant, blind, and cannot understand, who while they all look their own way every one for his gaine from his quarter*,⁸⁶ how many parts of the land are fed with windy ceremonies instead of sincere milke;⁸⁷ and while one Prelat enjoyes the nourishment and right of twenty Ministers, how many waste places are left as darke as *Galile of the Gentiles, sitting in the region and shadow of death*;⁸⁸ without preaching Minister, without light. So little care they of beasts to make them men, that by their sorcerous doctrine of formalities they take the way to transforme them out of Christian men into *Iudaizing* beasts. Had they but taught the land, or suffer'd it to be taught, as Christ would it should have bin,⁸⁹ in all plenteous dispensation of the word, then the poore mechanick might have so accustom'd his eare to good teaching, as to have discern'd betweene faithfull teachers and false. But now with a most

⁸³ No exact passage fits; see I Corinthians 1:2 and chap. 2.

⁸⁴ Colossians 2:2: ". . . of the full assurance of understanding, to the acknowledgment of the mystery of God, and of the Father, and of Christ"

⁸⁵ See quotation given above, p. 931, n. 78.

⁸⁶ Isaiah 56:10-11. One of the three Biblical passages cited by Harris Fletcher in *The Use of the Bible in Milton's Prose* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1929), p. 96, as occurring in *An Apology*. He noted that the passage does not agree with any known translation.

⁸⁷ The phrase "sincere milk" occurs in I Peter 2:2.

⁸⁸ A paraphrase of Matthew 4:15-16; cf. Isaiah 9:1-2.

⁸⁹ See Matthew 28:19; cf. Mark 16:15. "Iudaizing Beasts" in preceding sentence may be another allusion to the story of Stephen, Acts 7; see above, p. 894, n. 145.

inhumane cruelty they who have put out the peoples eyes reproach them of their blindnesse. Just as the Pharisees their true Fathers were wont; who could not indure that the people should be thought competent judges of Christs doctrine, although we know they judg'd farre better then those great Rabbies. Yet *this people*, said they, *that knowes not the law is accurst.*⁹⁰ We need not the autority of *Pliny*⁹¹ brought to tell us, the people cannot judge of a minister. Yet that hurts not. For as none can judge of a Painter, or Statuary but he who is an Artist, that is, either in the *Practick* or the *Theory*, which is often separated from the practick, and judges learnedly without it,⁹² so none can judge of a Christian teacher, but he who hath, either the practize, or the knowledge of Christian religion, though not so artfully digested in him.⁹³ And who [44] almost of the meanest Christians hath not heard the Scriptures often read from his childhood, besides so many Sermons and Lectures more in number then any student hath heard in Philosophy, whereby he may easily attaine to know when he is wisely taught and when weakly. Whereof three wayes I remember are set downe in Scripture. The one is to reade often that best of books written to this purpose, that not the wise only but the simple and ignorant may learne by them;⁹⁴ the other way to know of a minister, is by the life he leads, whereof the meanest understanding may be apprehensive.⁹⁵ The last way to judge aright in this point is when he who judges, lives a Christian life himselfe.⁹⁶ Which of these three will the Confuter affirme to exceed the capacity of a plaine artizan? And what reason then is there left wherefore he should be deny'd his voice in the election of his minister, as not thought a competent discerner? It is but arrogance therefore, and the pride of a *metaphysicall*⁹⁷ fume, to thinke that *the mutinous rabble* (for so he calls the Christian con-

⁹⁰ The quotation is from John 7:49; the preceding sentence summarizes John 7.40-48.

⁹¹ *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 23, cites Pliny among others, but Milton rejects such a pagan authority in favor of the Bible.

⁹² Similar ideas occur twice in *Animadversions*, above, pp. 691, 719. The second passage cites Xenophon writing to Socrates.

⁹³ Milton seemingly concedes Pliny's artistry.

⁹⁴ See Isaiah 34:16: "Seek ye out of the book of the Lord, and read." Cf. Colossians 4:16 and I Thessalonians 5:27.

⁹⁵ See I Timothy 3 and 4; Titus 1.

⁹⁶ See Matthew 7:1-5; Luke 6:37; cf. Romans 2:1 and James 4:11.

⁹⁷ *NED*'s first citation is dated 1646: "Applied with more or less of reproach to reasoning, ideas, etc. which are considered over-subtle, or too abstract."

gregation) would be so mistaken in a Clerk of the University that were to be their minister.⁹⁸ I doubt me those Clerks that think so,⁹⁹ are more mistaken in themselves, and what with truanting and debauchery, what with false grounds and the weaknesse of naturall faculties in many of them (it being a maxim in some men to send the simplest of their sonnes thither) perhaps there would be found among them as many unsolid and corrupted judgements both in doctrine and life, as in any other two Corporations of like bignesse. This is undoubtedt that if any Carpenter, Smith, or Weaver, were such a bungler in his trade, as the greater number of them are in their profession, he would starve for any custome. And should he exercise his manifasture,¹⁰⁰ as little as they do their talents, he would forget his art: and should he mistake his tools as they do theirs, he would marre all the worke he took in hand. How few among them that know to write, or speak in a pure stile, much lesse to distinguish the *idea's*, and various kinds of stile:¹⁰¹ in Latine barbarous, and oft not without *solecisms*, declaiming in rugged and miscellaneous geare blown together by the foure winds,¹⁰² and in their choice preferring the gay ranknesse of *Apuleius*, *Arnobius*, or any moderne fustianist, before the native *Latinisms* of *Cicero*.¹⁰³ In the Greek tongue most of them unletter'd, or unenter'd to any sound proficiency in those *Attick* maisters of morall wisdome and eloquence.¹⁰⁴ In the He-[45]brew text, which is so necessary to be understood except it be some few of them, their lips are utterly uncircumcis'd.¹⁰⁵ No lesse are they out of the way in philosophy; pestring their

⁹⁸ *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 24: "Go you then to your mutinous rabble, and if you can appease their furies, enthrone their sage wisedomes upon some stall or bench, and cite before them the Clerks of either University."

⁹⁹ Here begins Milton's long attack against the universities, which continues through to the end of this section. See Hanford, *Handbook*, Appendix A, for a discussion.

¹⁰⁰ Milton apparently means "skill," though *NED* has no such definition. "Talents," a little later in the sentence, of course refers to Matthew 25:14-30.

¹⁰¹ See above, p. 899, n. 19, for use of "ideas."

¹⁰² Cf. *Animadversions*, above, p. 677: "barbarous sophistry," and *Church-Government*, above, p. 854.

¹⁰³ Cicero was much admired by Milton and his times for the purity of his Latin; Apuleius (ca. 123 A.D.) and Arnobius (ca. 305 A.D.) cannot compare in style. "Fustianist": cf. *Areopagitica* (1644, p. 24): "nothing . . . writt'n now these many years but flattery and fustian."

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Milton's praise of Xenophon and Plato, above, p. 891.

¹⁰⁵ For Milton's knowledge of Greek and Hebrew, see Conklin, *Biblical Criticism*, pp. 40-51. "Not spiritually chastened or purified, irreligious, heathen." *NED*, citing

heads with the saplesse dotages of old *Paris and Salamanca*.¹⁰⁶ And that which is the main point, in their Sermons affecting the comments and postils¹⁰⁷ of Friers and Jesuits, but scorning and slighting the reformed writers. In so much that the better sort among them will confess it a rare matter to heare a true edifying Sermon in either of their great Churches;¹⁰⁸ and that such as are most humm'd¹⁰⁹ and applauded there, would scarce be suffer'd the second hearing in a grave congregation of pious Christians. Is there cause why these men should overween, and be so queasie of the rude multitude, lest their deepe worth should be undervalu'd for want of fit umpires? No my *matriculated confutant* there will not want in any congregation of this Island, that hath not beene altogether famisht, or wholly perverted with Prelatish leven,¹¹⁰ there will not want divers plaine and solid men, that have learnt by the experience of a good conscience, what it is to be well taught, who will soone look through and through both the lofty nakednesse of your *Latinizing* Barbarian, and the finicall goosery¹¹¹ of your neat Sermon-actor. And so I leave you and your fellow *starres*, as you terme them, of *either horizon*,¹¹² meaning I suppose either *hemisphere*, unlesse you will be ridiculous in your astronomy. For the rationall horizon in heav'n is but one, and the sensible horizons in earth are innumerable; so that your allusion was as erroneous as your starres. But that¹¹³ you did well to prognosticat them all at lowest in the horizon, that is either seeming bigger then they are through the mist and vapour which they raise, or else sinking, and wasted to the snuffe¹¹⁴ in their westerne socket.

Sect. 11. His eleventh Section intends I know not what unlesse to clog us with the residue of his phlegmatick sloth, discussing with a Tindale (1526), Acts 7:51, "Ye stiff necked and of uncircumcised hertes and eares."

¹⁰⁶ Two famous medieval universities; *CPB* includes a comment about Paris from Sleidan (above, p. 381).

¹⁰⁷ "Marginal notes or comments upon a text of Scripture or a series of such notes." *NED*.

¹⁰⁸ St. Mary's (Oxford) and Great St. Mary's (Cambridge).

¹⁰⁹ "Applauded." *NED*.

¹¹⁰ See I Corinthians 5:6-7.

¹¹¹ "Over-nice or affectedly fastidious silliness such as is attributed to the goose." *NED*, which cites this passage as the first use of "goosery."

¹¹² Milton is quoting from *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 24.

¹¹³ Modern usage would omit "that."

¹¹⁴ "A candle end; in comparisons used to describe what is faint, feeble or at the point of extinction." *NED*.

heavie pulse the *expedience of set formes*:¹ which no question but to some, and for some time may be permitted, and perhaps there may be usefully set forth by the Church a common *directory* of publick prayer, especially in the administration of the Sacraments.² But that it should therefore be inforc't where both minister and people professe to have no need, but to be scandaliz'd by it, that, I hope, every sensible Christian will deny. And the reasons of such deniall the confuter himselfe, as his bounty still is to his adversary, will give us out of his affirmation. First [46] saith he, *God in his providence hath chosen some to teach others and pray for others, as ministers and Pastors.*³ Whence I gather, that however the faculty of others may be, yet that they whom God hath set apart to his ministry, are by him endu'd with an ability of prayer; because their office is to pray for others. And not to be the lip-working deacons of other mens appointed words. Nor is it easily credible that he who can preach well should be unable to pray well; when as it is indeed the same ability to speak affirmatively, or doctrinally and only by changing the mood to speak prayingly. In vaine therefore do they pretend to want utterance in prayel, who can finde utterance to preach. And if prayer be the guift of the Spirit, why do they admit those to the Ministry, who want a maine guift of their function, and prescribe guifted men to use that which is the remedy of another mans want; setting them their tasks to read, whom the Spirit of God stands ready to assist in his ordinance with the guift of free conceptions.⁴

¹ Not an exact quotation but a reference to *Modest Confutation* (1642), pp. 24-25, where the opening remarks concerning liturgy include the following slightly condensed quotation from I Corinthians 10.23, the bracketed phrase being omitted: "All things are lawfull [for me], but all things are not expedient"

² Such an admission of the need for "set forms" is not to be found in the long discussion of liturgy in *Animadversions*, above, pp. 677-92; and *Church-Government* says, above, p. 854. "The service of God who is Truth, her Liturgy confesses to be perfect freedom, but her works and her opinions declare that the service of Prelaty is perfect slavery, and by consequence perfect falsehood."

³ *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 25 (speaking of God and "the government of his Church"): "In which it hath pleased his divine wisdome so to order the matter, that . . . he hath made some to be Apostles, some Ministers, Pastors, Teachers; whereas had he not had respect to this, and purposed to go along with this weaknesse of mans nature, he could as well have infused abilitie (I mean supernaturall) into the brest and brain of the most ignorant despicable member of the Church."

⁴ The entire sentence seems to allude to John 14:17, 16:13; and I John 2.20, 27. Cf. *Church-Government* (above, p. 821): "that eternall Spirit who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his Seraphim with the hallow'd fire of his Altar to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases."

What if it be granted to the infirmity of some Ministers (though such seeme rather to be halfe ministers) to help themselves with a set forme, shall it therefore be urg'd upon the plenteous graces of others? and let it be granted to some people while they are babes in Christian guifts, were it not better to take it away soone after, as we do loitering⁵ books, and *interlineary* translations from children; to stirre up and exercise that portion of the spirit which is in them, & not impose it upon congregations who not only deny to need it, but as a thing troublesome and offensive refuse it. Another reason which he brings for liturgie, is *the preserving of order, unity, and piety*,⁶ and the same shall be my reason against Liturgy. For I Readers, shall always be of this opinion, that obedience to the Spirit of God, rather then to the faire seeming pretences of men, is the best and most dutifull order that a Christian can observe. If the Spirit of God manifest the guift of prayer in his Minister, what more seemely order in the congregation, then to go along with that man in our devoutest affections? for him to abridge himselfe by reading, and to forestall himselfe in those petitions, which he must either omit, or vainly repeat, when he comes into the Pulpit under a shew of order, is the greatest disorder. Nor is unity lesse broken, especially by our Liturgy, though this author would almost bring the Communion of Saints to a Communion of Liturgicall words.⁷ For what other reformed Church holds communion [47] with us by our liturgy, and does not rather dislike it?⁸ and among our selves who knowes it not to have bin a perpetuall cause of disunion. Lastly, it hinders piety rather then sets it forward, being more apt to weaken the spirituall faculties, if the people be not wean'd from it in due time; as the daily powring in of hot waters quenches the naturall heat.⁹ For

⁵ Cf *Areopagitica* (1644, p. 28). "interlinearies, breviaries, *synopses*, and other loitering gear."

⁶ The third point in the discussion of liturgy in *Modest Confutation* (1642, pp. 28-30) begins: "3 Most expedient to attain the end such worship drives at; Order, Unity, Piety, and the best advancement of Gods glory."

⁷ *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 29: "What order can ever be expected? what uniformity looked for? what consent and harmony betwixt Church and Church, when every one shall differ in that which should make them truly one? a Communion of Saints, even their community of Prayers? How, while some are starved, shall others be pampered? and then what likenesse? . . . It is a requisite in the Church of Christ, that the particular Congregations which are the members of that mysticall body, be of one heart and minde, especially in their Prayers to, and Praises of God."

⁸ The most obvious example was the rioting that accompanied Laud's attempted introduction of the liturgy in Scotland; see Davies, *Early Stuarts*, p. 85.

⁹ For such medical metaphors, see above, p. 885, n. 90.

not only the body, & the mind, but also the improvement of Gods Spirit is quickn'd by using.¹⁰ Whereas they who will ever adhere to liturgy, bring th̄eselves in the end to such a passe by overmuch leaning as to loose even the legs of their devotion. These inconveniences and dangers follow the compelling of set formes: but that the toleration of the English Liturgy now in use, is more dangerous then the compelling of any other which the reformed Churches use, these reasons following may evince.¹¹ To contend that it is fantasticall, if not senselesse in some places, were a copious argument,¹² especially in the *Responsories*.¹³ For such alternations as are there us'd must be by severall persons; but the Minister and the people cannot so sever their interests, as to sustaine severall persons; he being the only mouth of the whole body which he presents.¹⁴ And if the people pray he being silent, or they ask one thing & he another, it either changes the property, making the Priest the people, and the people the Priest by turnes, or else makes two persons and two bodies representative where there should be but one. Which if it be nougnt else, must needs be a strange quaintnesse in ordinary prayer. The like, or worse may be said of the *Litany*, wherein neither Priest nor people speak any intire sense of themselves throughout the whole I know not what to name it; only by the timely contribution of their parted stakes,¹⁵ closing up as it were the *schisme*¹⁶ of a slic't prayer, they pray not in vaine, for by this means they keep life betweene them in a piece of gasping sense, and keep downe the sawcinesse of a continuall rebounding nonsense. And hence it is that as it hath been farre from the imitation of any warranted¹⁷ prayer, so we all know it hath bin obvious to be the pattern of many a Jig.¹⁸ And he who hath but read in good books of devotion¹⁹ and no

¹⁰ A similar idea occurs earlier; see above, p. 922.

¹¹ Milton's reform is to prohibit the existing liturgy, as the remainder of the section brings out.

¹² As is often the case: "topic."

¹³ Modern usage would have "as far as the Responsories are concerned." They are "anthems said or sung after the lesson by a soloist and choir alternately." *NED*.

¹⁴ That is, the minister speaks for the congregation; see, among other places, Romans 12:4-5 and I Corinthians 12:12-31.

¹⁵ "Division into shares." See *NED*, "part."

¹⁶ Neumann, "Milton's Prose Vocabulary," p. 108, n. 6: "in the sense of 'a rent or tear,' its original meaning in Greek."

¹⁷ The Lord's Prayer; see Matthew 6:9-13 and Luke 11:2-4.

¹⁸ "A song or ballad of lively, jocular, or mocking (often scurrilous) character. In 17th century applied in mockery to metrical versions of the Psalms." *NED*.

¹⁹ Inasmuch as Hall was the author of a large number of devotional books, there may be a veiled jibe here at the Remonstrant.

more, cannot be so either of eare or judgement unpractiz'd²⁰ to distinguish what is grave, *patheticall*, devout, and what not, but will presently perceave this Liturgy all over in conception leane and dry, of affections empty and unmoving, of passion, or any heighth whereto the soule might soar upon the wings of zeale, destitute and barren: besides er-[48]rors, *tautologies*, impertinences, as those thanks in the womans Churching for her delivery from Sunburning and Moonblasting,²¹ as if she had bin travailing not in her bed, but in the deserts of *Arabia*. So that while some men cease not to admire the incomparable frame of our Liturgy, I cannot but admire as fast what they think is become of judgement, and tast in other men, that they can hope to be heard without laughter. And if this were all, perhaps it were a complyable matter.²² But when we remember this our liturgy where we found it, whence we had it, and yet where we left it, still serving to all the abominations of the Antichristian temple, it may be wonder'd how we can demurre whether it should be done away or no, and not rather feare we have highly offended in using it so long. It hath indeed bin pretended to be more ancient then the Masse, but so little prov'd, that whereas other corrupt Liturgies have had withall such a seeming antiquity, as that their publishers have ventur'd to ascribe them with their worst corruptions either to *S. Peter, S. James, S. Mark*, or at least to *Chrysostome*, or *Basil*, ours hath bin never able to find either age, or author allowable, on whom to father those things therein which are least offensive,²³ except the two Creeds, for *Te Deum* has a

²⁰ Modern usage would precede this word with the earlier "so" and follow it with "as not."

²¹ Until revised in 1661, the prayer book service for the churching of women, i.e., "Thanksgiving for her Safe Delivery in Childbirth," incorporated Psalm 121. Leighton Pullan, *The History of the Book of Common Prayer* (London, 1905), p. 247. Verse 6 of that Psalm reads as follows in the Prayer Book: "So that the sunne shal not burne thee by daye; neither the moone by nyghte." *The First and Second Prayer Books of Edward VI* (Everyman's Library, 1910). The King James Version has "smite" for "burne." "Moonblasting" thus is Milton's own word. According to *NED*, "moonburnt" commonly means "moonstruck," and "blast" means to "blight" or, in a figurative sense, "to curse, to wield a pernicious influence on." Cf. *Doctrine of Divorce*, I, x: "blasting all the content of their mutuall society," and the first line of "On the Death of a Fair Infant". "O fairest flower no sooner blown but blasted." The note in Bohn, III, 158, is in error in asserting the service is no longer used.

²² Milton now turns to the most telling argument against the liturgy. its taint of Roman Catholicism, which he summarizes in the next sentence.

²³ See *Animadversions*, above, p. 678. Hall's *Short Answer* (1641) summarizes the Smectymnuan argument, pp. 47-48 (*Works*, 1863, IX, 417-18). The liturgy

smach²⁴ in it of *Limbus Patrum*.²⁵ As if Christ had not *open'd the kingdome of heaven* before he had *overcome the sharpnesse of death*.²⁶ So that having receav'd it from the Papall Church as an originall creature, for ought can be shewn to the contrary, form'd and fashion'd by work maisters ill to be trusted,²⁷ we may be assur'd that if God loathe the best of an Idolaters prayer,²⁸ much more the conceited fangle²⁹ of his prayer. This Confuter himselfe confesses that a community of the same set forme in prayers, is that which *makes Church and Church truly one*;³⁰ we then using a Liturgy farre more like to the Masse-book then to any Protestant set forme, by his owne words must have more communion with the *Romish Church*, then with any of the reformed. How can we then not partake with them the curse and vengeance of their superstition, to whom we come so neere in the same set forme and dresse of our devotion? do we thinke to sift the matter finer then we are sure God in his jealousie will? who detested both the gold and the spoile of Idolatrous Cities,³¹ and forbid the eating of things offer'd to Idols.³² Are we stronger then he, to brook that which his heart cannot brook? It is not surely because we think that praiers are no where to be had but at [49] *Rome*; that were a foule scorne and indignity cast upon all the reformed Churches, and our own; if we imagine that all the godly Ministers of England are not able to new mould a better and more pious Liturgy then this which was conceav'd and infanted by an idolatrous Mother: how basely were that to esteeme of Gods Spirit, and all the holy blessings and priviledges of a true Church above a false? Hark ye Prelats, is this your glorious

called "Syrian" is also known as that of St. James, that of Alexandria bears the name of St. Mark, and the "Byzantine" liturgy appears in two forms, that of Constantinople as remodeled by St. Chrysostom and that of the province of Pontus, associated with St. Basil. John E Field, *The English Liturgies of 1549 and 1661* (London, 1920), pp. 25-30.

²⁴ Smack or taste.

²⁵ Limbo see above, p. 894, n. 139. The region where the martyrs and pre-Christian fathers await the resurrection; denied by non-Catholics Cf *Paradise Lost*, II, 495 ff.

²⁶ See, e.g., Matthew 25.34, "the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world."

²⁷ Probably because they were bishops.

²⁸ Perhaps alluding to the punishment of Solomon. I Kings 11.

²⁹ "A fantastic, foppish, or silly contrivance." *NED*. "Conceited" in the sense of having many "conceits" in it.

³⁰ See above, p. 937, n. 7, for the passage from *Modest Confutation*.

³¹ See the story of Achan, Joshua 7:10-26, and also Deuteronomy 7:25-26.

³² See Acts 15.29, 21:25.

Mother of England,³³ who when as Christ hath taught her to pray, thinks it not anough unlesse she adde thereto the teaching of Anti-christ? ³⁴ How can we believe ye would refuse to take the stipend ³⁵ of Rome, when ye shame not to live upon the almes-basket of her prayers? will ye perswade us that ye can curse Rome from your hearts when none but Rome must teach ye to pray? *Abraham* disdain'd to take so much as a thred or a shoo latchet from the King of *Sodome*, though no foe of his, but a wicked King,³⁶ and shall we receave our prayers at the bounty of our more wicked enemies? whose guifts are no guifts, but the instruments of our bane? Alas that the Spirit of God should blow as an uncertaine wind, should so mistake his inspiring, to mis-bestow his guifts promis'd only to the elect,³⁷ that the idolatrous should finde words acceptable to present God with and abound to their neighbours, while the true professors of the Gospell can find nothing of their own worth the constituting, wherewith to worship God in publick. Consider if this be to magnifie the Church of England, and not rather to display her nakednesse to all the world. Like therefore as the retaining of this Romish Liturgy is a provocation to God, and a dis-honour to our Church, so is it by those ceremonies, those purifyings and offrings at the Altar, a pollution and disturbance to the Gospell it selfe; and a kinde of driving us with the foolish *Galatians* to another gospell.³⁸ For that which the Apostles taught hath freed us in religion from the *ordinances of men*,³⁹ and commands that *burdens be not laid*⁴⁰ upon the redeemed of Christ, though the formalist will say, what no decency in Gods worship?⁴¹ Certainly Readers, the worship of God singly in it selfe, the very act of prayer and thanksgiving with those free and unimpos'd expressions which from a sincere heart un-bidden come into the outward gesture, is the greatest decency that can

³³ Hall called himself "A dutifull Sonne of the Church" on the title page of the *Humble Remonstrance* and calls the church "Mother" at a number of points.

³⁴ Commonplace as the name of the Roman church; from I John 2:18, 22, and II John 7.

³⁵ "The normal term for the pay of a clergyman." *NED*.

³⁶ Genesis 14:23.

³⁷ The idea of election is to be found in Mark 13:20, Luke 18:7, Romans 8:29-30, and I Thessalonians 1:4, among other places

³⁸ Alluding to Galatians 3.

³⁹ Perhaps alluding to Ephesians 2:15 or Colossians 2:14, 20.

⁴⁰ Perhaps alluding to Acts 15:28; cf. Matthew 11:30

⁴¹ See Hale, *Of Reformation*, p. 79, n. 6.11, for references to this common plea of the bishops for the established liturgy.

be imagin'd. Which to dresse up and garnish with a devis'd bravery abolisht in the law, and disclam'd by the Gospell addes nothing but a deformed uglinesse.⁴² And hath ever afforded a co-[50]lourable pre-tense to bring in all those traditions and carnalities that are so killing to the power and vertue of the Gospell. What was that which made the Jewes figur'd under the names of *Aholah* and *Aholibah* go a whooring after all the heathens inventions, but that they saw a religion gorgeously attir'd and desirable to the eye?⁴³ What was all, that the false Doctors of the Primitive Church, and ever since have done, but *to make a faire shew in the flesh*, as S. Pauls words are?⁴⁴ If we have indeed given a bill of divorce to Popery and superstition, why do we not say as to a divors't wife; those things which are yours take them all with you, and they shall sweepe after you?⁴⁵ Why were not we thus wise at our parting from Rome? Ah like a crafty adultresse she forgot not all her smooth looks and enticing words at her parting; yet keep these letters, these tokens, and these few ornaments; I am not all so greedy of what is mine, let them preserve with you the memory of what I am? No, but of what I was, once faire and lovely in your eyes.⁴⁶ Thus did those tender hearted reformers dotingly⁴⁷ suffer themselves to be overcome with harlots language. And she like a witch, but with a contrary policy did not take something of theirs that she might still have power to bewitch them, but for the same intent left something of her own behind her.⁴⁸ And that her whoorish cunning should prevaile to work upon us her deceitfull ends, though it be sad to speak, yet such is our blindnesse, that we deserve. For we are deepe in dotage. We cry out *Sacriledge and misdevotion* against those who in zeale have demolish't the dens and cages of her uncleane wallowings.⁴⁹ We stand for a Popish Liturgy as for the ark of our Cov'nant.⁵⁰

⁴² See Ecclesiastes 5:2 and Matthew 6:5-7.

⁴³ Ezekiel 23:1-49.

⁴⁴ Galatians 6:12.

⁴⁵ Deuteronomy 24.1-4 prohibits a husband from remarrying his divorced wife.

⁴⁶ This description of the "crafty adultresse" seems to have no source, despite the vividness of the picture drawn.

⁴⁷ From "dote, doat"; "to be silly, deranged, or out of one's wits." *NED*, which quotes Cranmer, *Catechism*, 123b, "Thei dotingly loved all that was their awne."

⁴⁸ Based on the widespread belief that a witch must obtain something from the person upon whom a spell is to be cast.

⁴⁹ See II Peter 2:22, where false teachers are likened to "the sow that was washed" which has returned "to her wallowing in the mire." Revelation 18:2 speaks of Babylon (often the Puritan name for Rome) that it "is become the

And so little does it appeare our prayers are from the heart, that multitudes of us declare, they know not how to pray but by rote. Yet they can learnedly invent a prayer of their own to the Parliament,⁵¹ that they may still ignorantly read the prayers of other men to God. They object that if wee must forsake all that is Rome's, we must bid adieu to our Creed; and I had thought our Creed had bin of the Apostles; for so it beares title. But if it be hers let her take it. We can want no Creed, so long as we want not the Scriptures.⁵² We magnifie those who in reforming our Church have inconsiderately and blamefully permitted the old leven⁵³ to remaine and soure our whole lumpe. But *they were Martyrs*;⁵⁴ True and he that looks well into the book of Gods providence, if he read there that God for [51] this their negligence and halting, brought all that following persecution upon this Church, and on themselves, perhaps will be found at the last day not to have read amisse.

Sect. 12. But now, Readers, we have the Port within sight; his last Section which is no deepe one, remains only to be foarded, and then the wisht shoare. And here first it pleases him much, that he hath discri'd me, as he conceaves, to be unread in the Counsels.¹ Concerning which matter it will not be unnecessary to shape him this answer; That some years I had spent in the stories of those Greek and Roman exploits, wherein I found many things both nobly done, and worthily spoken: ² when coming in the method of time to that age wherein the

habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird" Parliament ordered, January 23, 1641, the destruction of "relics of idolatry out of all churches and chapels" (Masson, II, 195), to which the cry might well have been "Sacrelidge and misdevotion" on the part of the bishops.

⁵⁰ Hebrews 9:1-11 denies the need for the ark.

⁵¹ The form of the *Humble Remonstrance* is that of a prayer.

⁵² Cf. *Eikonoklastes*, Chapter XXVII, where the same idea is expressed.

⁵³ I Corinthians 5:6-7 speaks of the "old leaven"; here the metaphor is in its original meaning of yeast.

⁵⁴ See *Animadversions*, above, p. 678.

¹ Section 12, *Modest Confutation* (1642) pp. 34-40, opens: "I was glad at my heart when I heard you cry out (*set the grave Counsels upon their shelves, string them hard*) for from such your flighting of them, I conjectured your ignorance in that kind of learning to be, though not so ingenuously confessed, yet altogether as much and great as mine." The Confuter's quotation is from *Animadversions*, above, p. 684.

² Cf. above, p. 884, n 85. The course of reading described here is discussed in Hanford, "Chronology," pp. 251-314.

Church had obtain'd a Christian Emperor,³ I so prepar'd my selfe, as being now to read examples of wisdome and goodnesse among those who were formost in the Church, not else where to be parallell'd: But to the amazement of what I expected, Readers, I found it all quite contrary; excepting in some very few, nothing but ambition, corruption, contention, combustion: in so much that I could not but love the Historian *Socrates*,⁴ who in the proem to his fifth book professes, *He was faine to intermixe affaires of State, for that it would be else an extreame annoyance to heare in a continu'd discourse the endlesse brabbles & counterplottings of the Bishops.* Finding therefore the most of their actions in single to be weak, and yet turbulent, full of strife and yet flat of spirit, and the summe of their best councels there collected, to be most commonly in questions either triviall and vaine, or else of short, and easie decision without that great bustle which they made, I concluded that if their single ambition and ignorance was such, then certainly united in a Councell it would be much more; and if the compendious recitall of what they there did was so tedious and unprofitable, then surely to sit out the whole extent of their tattle in a dozen volumes, would be a losse of time irrecoverable.⁵ Besides that which I had read of S. *Martin*, who for his last sixteene yeares could never be perswaded to be at any Councell of the Bishops.⁶ And *Gregory Nazianzen*⁷ betook him to the same resolution affirming to *Procopius*,⁸ *that of any Councell, or meeting of Bishops he never saw good end; nor any remedy thereby of evill in the Church, but rather an increase. For, saith he, their contentions and desire of Lording no tongue is able to expresse.* I have not therefore I confesse read more of the Councils

³ Constantine, who is condemned for his "donation" in *Of Reformation*, above, p. 578; cf. *Animadversions*, above, p. 697.

⁴ Socrates Scholasticus, born ca. 408 at Constantinople. See above, pp. 376-77. There are six entries from his writings in *CPB* prior to the writing of this *Apology* (Hanford, "Chronology," p. 261) but not this quotation, although the same book is cited (see above, p. 417). Socrates is mentioned in *Of Reformation*, above, p. 577.

⁵ Milton's contempt for the councils recurs again and again in the other anti-prelatical pamphlets. See *Of Reformation*, above, p. 569; *Of Prelatical Episcopacy*, above, p. 629; cf. *Animadversions*, above, pp. 684, 685, 691, and *Church-Government*, above, p. 790.

⁶ St. Martin, Bishop of Tours (316-396 A.D.), whose life was written by Sulpicius Severus in *Sacred History*. See *Opera Omnia* (Leyden, 1635), p. 333, where the incident is mentioned.

⁷ Bishop of Sasima and Constantinople (ca. 325-392 A.D.).

⁸ An officer of the imperial court commissioned by Theodosius to summon Gregory Nazianzen to the Council at Constantinople, 382.

save here and there, I [52] should be sorry to have bin such a prodigall of my time: but that which is better, I can assure this Confuter; I have read into them all. And if I want any thing yet, I shall reply something toward that which in the defence of *Muræna* was answer'd by *Cicero* to *Sulpitius* the Lawyer.⁹ If ye provoke me (for at no hand else will I undertake such a frivolous labour) I will in three months be an expert councelist. For be not deceav'd, Readers, by men that would overawe your eares with big names and huge Tomes that contradict and repeal one another, because they can cramme a margent with citations.¹⁰ Do but winnow their chaffe from their wheat,¹¹ ye shall see their great heape shrink and wax thin past beliefe. From hence he passes to enquire wherefore I should blame the vices of the Prelats only, seeing the inferiour Clergy is known to be as faulty.¹² To which let him heare in briefe; that those Priests whose vices have been notorious, are all Prelaticall, which argues both the impiety of that opinion, and the wicked remisnesse of that government. We hear not of any which are call'd *Nonconformists* that have been accus'd for scandalous living; but are known to be pious, or at least sober men. Which is a great good argument, that they are in the truth and Prelats in the error. He would be resolv'd next *What the corruptions of the Universities concerne the Prelats?*¹³ and to that let him take this, That the Remonstrant having spok'n as if learning would decay with the removall of Prelats, I shew'd him that while books were extant, and in print, learning could not

⁹ *Oxford Classical Dictionary* explains: "Lucius Licinius Murena. After his election to the consulship in 63 B.C., he was charged of bribery by Cato and Sulpicius. His guilt was obvious, but it was not expedient that the consul-elect should be condemned during the Catilinarian crisis. Cicero therefore defended him, and secured his acquittal by cleverly ridiculing the pedantry of the accusers. See Cicero, *Pro Murena* (ed. W. E. Heitland, 1874)."

¹⁰ See above, p. 910, n. 2, and p. 921, n. 22, for other attacks on "marginal stuffings."

¹¹ Both Matthew 3:12 and Luke 3:17 refer to the process of winnowing.

¹² *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 35, after attacking a "lewd, vicious, or lying Prophet" and admitting that "nor Priest nor Prelate, but some of them hath been and is so," continues: "Is it the office, or the man, that bears this cursed fruit? you say the office. I ask of Prelacy only: why is it then that the inferiour Clergy is most faulty? how can they be so lewd, if no Prelates? or if lewd, why is not their order abolished? why are not all the Prelates alike vicious?" Cf. *Animadversions*, above, p. 717.

¹³ *Modest Confutation* (1642), pp. 35-36, after quoting *Animadversions*, above, p. 718, defends the charge that the bishops have corrupted the universities, in part as follows: "If either they fail, or be puled, you cannot blame Episcopacy for either."

readily be at a worse passe in the Universities then it was now under their government.¹⁴ Then he seeks to justifie the pernicious Sermons of the Clergy, as if they upheld soverainty,¹⁵ when as all Christian soverainty is by law, and to no other end but to the maintenance of the common good. But their doctrine was plainly the dissolution of law which only sets up sov'rancy, and the erecting of an arbitrary sway according to privat will, to which they would enjoyn a slavish obedience without law; which is the known definition of a tyrant, and a tyranniz'd people.¹⁶ A little beneath he denies that great riches in the Church are the baits of pride & ambition: ¹⁷ of which error to undeceive him, I shall allege a reputed divine autority, as ancient as *Constantine*, which his love to antiquity must not except against; ¹⁸ and to adde the more waight, he shall learne it rather in the words of our old Poet *Gower* then [53] in mine, that he may see it is no new opinion, but a truth deliver'd of old by a voice from heav'n, and ratify'd by long experience,

This Constantine which heal ¹⁹ hath found
 Within Rome anon let ²⁰ found
 Two Churches which he did make
 For Peter and for Pauls sake:
 Of whom he had a vision,
 And yafe ²¹ therto possession
 Of Lordship and of worlds good;

¹⁴ See *Animadversions*, above, pp. 718-21.

¹⁵ *Modest Confutation*, p. 36, quotes *Animadversions*, above, p. 718, and says in part: "What is that which you call flattery? standing up by the King. Is it not their duty? and yours too, were ye not so great Patrons of popularity? If the Kings Soveraignty be inviolable, may it not lawfully be published?"

¹⁶ The insistence here that sovereignty rests in law is to be elaborated in *The Tenure* (1649, p. 12), where the same definition of tyranny is also to be given. Cf. *Paradise Lost*, XII, 24-39, the account of Nimrod, and Milton's attack on Charles as a tyrant in *Eikonoklastes*, Chapter VI.

¹⁷ *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 36, again quotes from the same page of *Animadversions* and says, in part: "It is one of those young Scholars that asks your Eldership, whether there were not birds and beasts of prey, that did devour the flock, before ere the Church were so much beholding to the bounty of Princes and Nobles as now she is?" Milton's attacks on the Confuter as youthful are apparently based on this passage.

¹⁸ The voice in the quotation that follows.

¹⁹ Salvation.

²⁰ Caused to be.

²¹ Gave.

But how so that his will was good
 Toward the Pope and his Franchise ²²
 Yet hath it proved otherwise
 To see the working of the deed,
 For in Cronick thus I read
 Anon as he hath made the yeft ²³
 A voice was heard on high the left ²⁴
 Of which all Rome was adrad ²⁵
 And said this day venim is shad ²⁶
 In holy Church, of temporall
 That medleth with the spirituall
 And how it stant ²⁷ in that degree
 Yet may a man the sooth ²⁸ see.
 God amend it whan he will
 I can ²⁹ thereto none other skill.³⁰

But there were beasts of prey, saith he, before wealth was bestow'd on the Church.³¹ What though? because the Vulturs had then but small pickings; shall we therefore go and fling them a full gorge? ³² if they for lucre use to creepe into the Church undiscernably,³³ the more wisdome will it be so to provide that no revennu there may exceed the golden mean. For so, good Pastors will be content, as having need of no more, and knowing withall the precept and example of

²² Freedom.

²³ Gift.

²⁴ Lifte, in the sky.

²⁵ Fearful, aghast.

²⁶ Poison is shed.

²⁷ Stands.

²⁸ Truth.

²⁹ Know.

³⁰ The passage is from Book II of John Gower, *Confessio Amantis* (1532), ll. 3475-96; see George C. Macaulay, *The Complete Works of John Gower* (4 vols., Oxford, 1901), II, 223-24. The glossary is in Volume III.

³¹ Referring to the quotation given above, p. 946, n. 17.

³² In the passage from the *Animadversions* to which the *Modest Confutation* has referred occurs the phrase, "the very garbage that drawes together all the fowles of prey and ravin in the land to come, and gorge upon the Church." "Gorge" as a noun means "a meal for a hawk." *NED*, citing this passage. There is a possible allusion to Isaiah 34:15. "Then shall the vultures also be gathered, every one with her mate."

³³ Cf. "Lycidas," l. 115: "Creepe and intrude, and climb into the fold."

Christ and his Apostles,³⁴ and also will be lesse tempted to ambition. The bad will have but small matter whereon to set their mischiefe a work.³⁵ And the worst and sutlest heads will not come at all, when they shall see the [54] crop nothing answerable to their spacious greedinesse. For small temptations allure but dribling offendors; but a great purchase will call such as both are most able of themselves, and will be most inabl'd hereby to compasse dangerous projects.³⁶ But saith he, *A widows house will tempt as well as a Bishops Palace.*³⁷ Acutely spok'n. Because neither we, nor the Prelats can abolish widows houses³⁸ which are but an occasion taken of evill without the Church, therefore we shall set up within the Church a Lottery of such prizes as are the direct inviting causes of avarice and ambition, both unnecessary and harmefull to be propos'd, and most easie, most convenient, and needfull to be remov'd. *Yea but they are in a wise dispencers hand.*³⁹ Let them be in whose hand they will, they are most apt to blind, to puffe up and pervert the most seeming good. And how they have bin kept from Vultures, what ever the dispencers care hath bin, we have learnt by our miseries. But this which comes next in view, I know not what good vein, or humor took him, when he let drop into his paper. I that was ere while the ignorant, the loyterer, on the sudden by his permission am now granted to *know something*: And that *such a volley of expressions* he hath met withall, *as he would never desire to have them better cloth'd.*⁴⁰ For me, Readers, although I cannot say

³⁴ See Matthew 10:7-10 for Christ's instructions to his Disciples.

³⁵ Archaic for "to work." Cf. II Chronicles 11:18, "overseers to set the people a worke." *NED*.

³⁶ The thought here is to be found in I Timothy 6:6-10

³⁷ *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 36, "Whether the Devill can allure never a Cobler from his *awl* and *last* under a fat Prebendary? whether a Widows house be not as tempting as a Bishops Palace?" An allusion to the earlier charge about Milton's ambition; see above, p. 930, n. 69.

³⁸ From the context the meaning seems to be "houses of ill fame." Cf. *Eikonoklasts*, Chapter XXIV (1649, pp. 196-97): "your *sweet Sippets* in Widdows houses." But see Matthew 23:14: "But woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye devour widows' houses."

³⁹ *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 37: "But in good earnest Sir, for Bishopricks and Denaries [sic], they are in too wise a Dispencers hands to be given to Vultures; had it been otherwise, perhaps yours and your fellows mouths ere this had been stopt."

⁴⁰ After quoting *Animadversions* about "heathen Philosophers" and "virtue" (above, p. 719), the Confuter writes (1642, p. 37): "Now I see you know somewhat and were I not assured that other passions distracted you, I could easily be inclined to think that this volley of expressions proceeded from a love of *good-*

that I am utterly untrain'd in those rules which best Rhetoricians have giv'n, or unacquainted with those examples which the prime authors of eloquence have written in any learned tongu,⁴¹ yet true eloquence I find to be none, but the serious and hearty love of truth: And that whose mind so ever is fully possest with a fervent desire to know good things, and with the dearest charity to infuse the knowledge of them into others, when such a man would speak, his words (by what I can expresse) like so many nimble and airy servitors trip about him at command, and in well order'd files, as he would wish, fall aptly into their own places. But now to the remainder of our discours. Christ refus'd great riches, and large honours at the Devils hand. But why, saith he, *as they were tender'd by him from whom it was a sin to reeave them.*⁴² Timely remember'd: why is it not therefore as much a sin to receave a Liturgy of the masses giving, were it for nothing else but for the giver? *But he could make no use of such a high estate,* quoth the Confuter; opportunely. For why then should the servant take upon him to use those things which his master had unfitted him-[55] selfe to use, that hee might teach his ministers to follow his steps in the same ministery. But *they were offer'd him to a bad end.* So they prove to the Prelats; who after their preferment most usually change the teaching labour of the word,⁴³ into the unteaching ease of Lordship over consciences, and purses. But hee proceeds, *God entic't the Israelites with the promise of Canaan.*⁴⁴ Did not the Prelats bring as slavish mindes with them, as the Jewes brought out of Egypt,⁴⁵ they had left out that instance. Besides that it was then the time, when as the best of them, as Saint Paul saith, *was shut up unto the faith under the Law* their School-maister,⁴⁶ who was forc't to intice them as chil-

nesse: indeed so much the more easily inclined, by how much I would fain have it so. For were there no guile in them, as I do continually nourish such thoughts, so would I never desire to have them better cloathed: if at any time a floud of eloquence becomes us, it is when we expresse such a love, or such an indignation!"

⁴¹ See a similar passage earlier, p. 890. For the background of the following sentence, see above, p. 900.

⁴² *Modest Confutation*, pp. 37-38 (misnumbered 39), shortly after the quotation just given. There are other quotations by Milton from this passage in the ensuing sentences.

⁴³ See Matthew 28:19-20.

⁴⁴ *Modest Confutation*, p. 38.

⁴⁵ See Exodus 14:11-12.

⁴⁶ The italicized words are in Galatians 3:23; verses 24-25 bring in the idea of the law as "Schoolmaster."

dren with childish enticements. But the Gospell is our manhood, and the ministery should bee the manhood of the Gospell, not to looke after, much lesse so basely to plead for earthly rewards.⁴⁷ *But God incited the wisest man Salomon with these means.*⁴⁸ Ah Confuter of thy selfe, this example hath undone thee, *Salomon* askt an understanding heart, which the Prelats have little care to ask. He askt no riches which is their chiefe care: therefore was the prayer of *Salomon* pleasing to God; hee gave him wisdome at his request, and riches without asking: ⁴⁹ as now hee gives the Prelats riches at their seeking, and no wisdome because of their perverse asking. But hee gives not over yet, *Moses had an eye to the reward.*⁵⁰ To what reward, thou man that looks't with *Balaams* eyes,⁵¹ to what reward had the faith of *Moses* an eye to? He that had forsaken all the greatnesse of *Egypt*, and chose a troublesome journey in his old age through the Wildernes, and yet arriv'd not at his journies end: His faithfull eyes were fixt upon that incorruptible reward, promis'd to *Abraham* and his seed in the *Messiah*,⁵² hee sought a heav'ly reward which could make him happy, and never hurt him, and to such a reward every good man may have a respect. But the Prelats are eager of such rewards as cannot make them happy, but can only make them worse. *Jacob* a Prince borne, vow'd, that if God would *but give him bread to eat and raiment to put on, then the Lord should be his God.*⁵³ But the Prelats of meane birth, and oft times of lowest, making shew as if they were call'd to the spirituall and humble ministery of the Gospell, [56] yet murmur, and thinke it a hard service, unlesse contrary to the tenour of their profession, they may eat the bread and weare the honours of Princes.⁵⁴ So much more covetous and base they are then *Simon Magus*, for he proffer'd a reward to be admitted to that work, which they will not be

⁴⁷ The idea here would seem to be based on I Corinthians 13.11 and 14.20; cf. also Ephesians 4:14 and Hebrews 5:12-14.

⁴⁸ Another quotation from *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 38.

⁴⁹ See I Kings 3.9-13.

⁵⁰ *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 38.

⁵¹ Probably not the Balaam mentioned in Numbers 22.22-35 because there he received his eyes from the Lord and in Chapter 24 prophesies the future of Israel. See II Peter 2:12-16.

⁵² Among other places, see Genesis 18.18, 22.18, 26:4; Acts 3:25; Galatians 3.8-18.

⁵³ See Genesis 28:20-22.

⁵⁴ A comma after "unlesse" makes the meaning clearer. The charge here was a commonplace (see Brooke, *A Discourse* [1641], pp. 38-39), and Hall's own origin was humble.

meanly hir'd to.⁵⁵ But saith he, *Are not the Clergy members of Christ, why should not each member thrive alike?*⁵⁶ Carnall textman! As if worldly thriving were one of the priviledges wee have by being in Christ, and were not a providence oft times extended more liberally to the Infidell then to the Christian. Therefore must the Ministers of Christ not be over rich or great in the world, because their calling is spirituall, not secular; because they have a speciall warfare, which is not to be intangl'd with many impediments: because their Maister Christ gave them this precept, and set them this example, told them this was the mystery of his comming, by meane things and persons to subdue mighty ones:⁵⁷ and lastly because a middle estate is most proper to the office of teaching. Whereas higher dignity teaches farre lesse, and blindes the teacher.⁵⁸ Nay, saith the Confuter, fetching his last indeavour, *The Prelats will be very loath to let go their Baronies, and votes in Parliament*, and calls it Gods cause, with an unsufferable impudence. *Not that they love the honours and the means*, good men and generous, *but that they would not have their countrey made guilty of such a sacrilege and injustice.*⁵⁹ A worthy Patriot for his owne corrupt ends! That which hee imputes as sacrilege to his countrey, is the only way left them to purge that abominable sacrilege out of the land, which none but the Prelats are guilty of.⁶⁰ Who for the discharge of

⁵⁵ See Acts 8.9–11, 18–24. "Magus" means magician, but in Acts he is called "the sorcerer."

⁵⁶ *Modest Confutation*, p. 38, after quoting two passages from *Animadversions* about "A true Pastor of Christ's sending" and about God and "the sons of Nobles," above, p. 721, says (p. 39, misnumbered 38): "Hath God impropriated all the riches of the earth for the use of Lay men only? are not Clergy-men members of the body of Christ, why should not each member thrive alike? if these must be poor and naked, so let the rest be; and though there be in this but little wisdome, yet will there be some indifferency."

⁵⁷ Alluding probably to the parable of the mustard seed, Matthew 13:31, Mark 5:31–32.

⁵⁸ See Milton strictures on the greed of the bishops (above, pp. 947–48), ideas which anticipate his opposition to any state-supported clergy.

⁵⁹ *Modest Confutation*, p. 40, quotes *Animadversions* on the bishops who "would tugge for a Barony, to sit and vote in Parliament," above, p. 722, and answers in part: "Yes marry, what else? That man that was and could have still been content without those honours, will be very loath now to let them go; yet not so much that he loves the honours or means that accompany them, as that he would not have his countrey made guilty of so shameful a depriving him of them." Clearly this passage was written prior to the king's acceptance of the Bishops' Exclusion Bill; see above, p. 921, n. 18.

⁶⁰ This passage hardly sounds as though it could have been written after the

one single duty receave and keepe that which might bee anough to satisfie the labours of many painefull Ministers better deserving then themselves. Who possesse huge Benefices for lazie performances, great promotions, only for the execution of a cruell disgospelling jurisdiction. Who ingrosse many pluralities under a *non-resident* and slubbering⁶¹ dispatch of soules. Who let hundreds of parishes famish in one *Diocesse*, while they the [57] Prelats are mute, and yet injoy that wealth that would furnish all those darke places with able supply, and yet they eat, and yet they live at the rate of Earles, and yet hoard up. They who chase away all the faithfull Shepheards of the flocke, and bring in a dearth of spirituall food, robbing thereby the Church of her dearest treasure, and sending heards of souls starvling⁶² to Hell, while they feast and riot upon the labours of hireling Curats, consuming and purloyning even that which by their foundation is allow'd, and left to the poore, and to reparations of the Church. These are they who have bound the land with the sinne of Sacrilege, from which mortall ingagement wee shall never be free, till wee have totally remov'd with one labour as one individuall thing Prelaty and Sacrilege.⁶³ And herein will the King be a true defender of the Faith,⁶⁴ not by paring or lessning, but by distributing in due proportion the maintenance of the Church, that all parts of the Land may equally partake the plentifull and diligent preaching of the faith, the scandall of Ceremonies thrown out, that delude and circumvent the faith. And the usurpation of Prelats laid levell, who are in words the Fathers, but in their deeds the oppugners of the faith. This is that which will best confirme him in that glorious title. Thus yee have heard, Readers, how many shifts and wiles the Prelats have invented to save their ill got booty. And if it be true, as in Scripture it is foretold, that pride and covetousnesse are the sure markes of those false Prophets which are to come, then boldly conclude these to bee as great seducers, as any of the latter times.⁶⁵ For betweene this and the judgement day, doe not looke for

king's acceptance of the Bishops' Exclusion Bill, February 14, 1642. See Masson II, 353, 398.

⁶¹ From "slubber," "to run or skim over hurriedly and in a careless or slovenly manner." *NED*.

⁶² "Variant of starving." *NED*.

⁶³ Milton wants the total elimination of bishops; see above, p. 951, n. 56.

⁶⁴ *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 40, uses the phrase in the sentence after that quoted above, p. 951, n. 59.

⁶⁵ See Romans 16:18 and II Peter 2:1-3.

any arch deceavers who in spight of reformation will use more craft, or lesse shame to defend their love of the world, and their ambition, then these Prelats have done. And if yee thinke that soundnesse of reason, or what force of argument soever, will bring them to an ingenuous silence, yee think that which will never be. But if ye take that course which *Erasmus* was wont to say *Luther* tooke against the Pope and Monks, if yee [58] denounce warre against their Miters and their bellies, ye shall soon discerne that *Turbant*⁶⁶ of pride which they weare upon their heads to be no *helmet of salvation*,⁶⁷ but the meere mettle and horn-work⁶⁸ of Papall jurisdiction; and that they have also this guift, like a certaine kinde of some that are possest, to have their voice in their bellies, which being well drain'd and taken downe, their great Oracle, which is only there, will soone be dumbe, and the *Divine right of Episcopacy*⁶⁹ forthwith expiring, will put us no more to trouble with tedious antiquities and disputes.

⁶⁶ "Applied to the head dress of the ancient Jewish high priest." *NED*.

⁶⁷ See *Ephesians* 6:17.

⁶⁸ "Work done in horn, articles of horn." *NED*, quoting this; but later under "Fortifications": "A single fronted outwork . . . It is thrown out to occupy advantageous ground which it would have been inconvenient to include in the original *enceinte*." "Mettle" in the sense of "stuff" or substance of which the thing is made

⁶⁹ Alluding to Hall's pamphlet, *Episcopacie by Divine Right* (1640); *Works* (1863), IX, 142-281.

The End
